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THE

LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE;

CONTAINING

EVERY AUTHENTIC PARTICULAR

By which his extraordinary Character has been formed;

WITH A CONCISE

HISTORY OF THE EVENTS

THAT HAVE OCCASIONED

HIS UNPARALLELED ELEVATION,

AND A

PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW

OF HIS MANNERS AND POLICY AS

A Soldier, a Statesman, and a Sovereign.

INCLUDING

Memoirs and Original Anecdotes

OF

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY,

AND THE

MOST CELEBRATED CHARACTERS THAT HAVE APPEARED IN FRANCE

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. V.

Illustrated with numerous Portraits.

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LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

General Reflections.—The Narrative resumed.—The Armistice broken.—Battle of Hohenlinden.—The French advance.—General Macdonald crosses the Rhætian Alps.—The Austrians beaten and retreat.—Moreau divides his Army and advances to within Fifty Miles of Vienna.—Consternation and Dismay of the Inhabitants.—Their Disaffection.—The Archduke Charles concludes an Armistice with Moreau at Steyer.—Consequences of it.

WE have already traced the character of Buonaparté from obscurity to splendor; we have seen him in various trying situations, surmounting some of them by his genius, some by his Machiavælian policy, some by his cruelty. As a warrior he has, hitherto, appeared most conspicuous; in the field of battle he has shone forth with a lustre over which envy itself cannot cast a shade:— the bridge of Lodi, the passage of St. Bernard, and the field of Marengo, are exploits that demand the meed of applause, which we so willingly confer upon the heroes of antiquity.

Guided by a strict impartiality, it has been our first wish, and our most unceasing endeavour, in the course of these volumes, to represent the man as he is; neither his determined panegyrist, nor his bitter calumniator; we have endeavoured to separate detrac-

tion from truth, to lay our prejudices asleep, and to stand forth as the unbiassed Historian of his Deeds. In so far as he is human, he must have the frailties of humanity; placed in situations whose duties few can appreciate, whose necessities still fewer can palliate, he has sometimes acted, no doubt, from an impulse that has been imperiously dictated to him, rather than deliberately acceded to: exalted to a sphere that fixed the eyes of Europe upon him, he has, like every great man, stood forth the conspicuous object both of applause and censure; and both, indeed, have been liberally awarded to him. It has, therefore, been no easy task to preserve the sincerity we were ambitious of; but, if the difficulties have been great hitherto, they threaten to be greater hereafter: his ambition has taken a wider range; his conquests have been increased, his policy has become more obvious; and he has, by his inordinate and immeasurable lust of dominion, created, with justice, a more formidable host of enemies. Yet we will not shrink: advancing to the task with a temperate mind, it will be in our power to preserve the same impartiality, and we may, therefore, still hope to preserve the same degree of popular favour.

With our Fourth Volume we nearly closed the concerns of a century: the first year of the Nineteenth Century appeared in an auspicious light: it promised to cement a general peace; it was big with events; scarcely a country but was the scene of political negociation or of hostile operations; and it closed with a promising appearance.

Before, however, we proceed to narrate the events of 1801, it will be necessary to resume the thread of our Narrative at those several periods where we left

off, ſo that there may be no deficiency in our hiſtorical detail.

The armiſtice which had been concluded between the Emperor and Moreau expired, during the continuance of ſome negociations between this country and France; and the cabinet of Vienna, totally unprepared for a renewal of the conteſt, was under a neceſſity of ſoliciting a new truce. Some diſcuſſions took place between General Moreau on the one ſide and the Count de Lehrbach on the other, and a further ſuſpenſion of arms was obtained in Germany and Italy, for forty-five days, on the 20th of September. The terms of this truce were ſuch, as manifeſtly ſhewed the different ſituation of the contracting parties: the cities of Philipſburg, Ulm, and Ingolſtadt, were the price demanded from the Emperor for this momentary reſpite.

The policy which France had conſtantly purſued produced a new rupture with the Auſtrians: unable to force them to a ſeparate treaty, ſhe reſolved to renew the conteſt; proud and confident in her ſucceſſes, ſhe felt no doubts as to her future career; and the Emperor, whoſe fidelity to his allies merited a better reward, repaired to the head-quarters of his army with the Archduke Charles. A recommencement of hoſtilities being decided upon, Augereau, at the head of the Batavian army, croſſed to the right bank of the Rhine; while Macdonald, now ſtationed in the country of the Griſons, prepared to paſs the Rhetian Alps and convey new ſuccours into Italy.

Moreau during this truce had returned to his native country and married: but the ſtern alarms of war called him from the ſoft pleaſures of love; and, after ſixteen days, he was obliged to quit his bride and

repair to his head-quarters. He publiſhed an Address to his ſoldiers, in which he requeſted them to exhibit the ſame gallantry and the ſame diſregard to the rigors of the ſeaſon, which they had before diſplayed when employed in the defence of Fort Kehl and the conqueſt of Holland

Moreau was now at the head of the moſt numerous army that France had ever ſent into Germany, and, proceeding in queſt of the enemy, their advanced guards encountered each other at Haag, where the Auſtrians obtained a ſuperiority.

The Archduke John was now at the head of the Imperial forces: fluſhed with ſome partial ſucceſſes, he collected all his forces, marched in ſearch of the French, and attacked them with an unuſual degree of vigor. The battle commenced at ſeven o'clock in the morning, between the rivers Ider and Inn, on the heights which extend from Bierkrain to Neumarck, and near the very ſpot (Hohenlinden) where the armiſtice had, a ſhort time before, been concluded.

This was an important battle, and one that ſeemed worthy to decide the fate of an empire: there were many circumſtances which tended to render it fatal to the Auſtrians; amongſt others, a ſevere fall of ſnow, which precluded that regularity and conformity in the operations which muſt always accompany a combined movement, or without which the utmoſt ſtretch of human genius can effect nothing. Still, however, the gallant ardour of the troops was not diminiſhed by this derangement of the original plan; and ſuch was the determined bravery diſplayed on both ſides, that victory for a time hung in ſuſpenſe.

Moreau, however, anticipated the intentions of the

. John. Archd. Duke of. Austria.

Archduke, and having ordered General Richepanſe to aſſail the centre column in flank at the moment it commenced an attack, this unexpected evolution produced inconceivable confuſion, and the left one being penetrated nearly at the ſame time, added to other difficulties, they were forced to retire at three o'clock in the afternoon; and Moreau hung with ſuch determined impetuoſity upon their rear, that night alone ſaved them from total deſtruction. In this battle were taken the greateſt part of the baggage, more than 18,000 priſoners, and near 100 pieces of cannon. The enemy fled in diſorder beyond the Inn, and in their flight they carried diſmay and conſternation.

In order to improve the advantages gained by this ſplendid victory at Hohenlinden, on the 3d of December 1800, Moreau, ſtill advancing towards the Auſtrian capital, proceeded rapidly to Saltzburgh: the advantages of occupying this poſt were numerous, and they were all foreſeen by this able general: in his route, however, it was neceſſary to paſs two rivers, the Inn and the Salza: the former riſes in the country of the Griſons, paſſes through Tyrol and Bavaria, and falls into the Danube near Paſſau; its bed is deep and it has a rapid current. It was conſidered by Marshal Turenne as one of the ſtrongeſt military barriers in Europe: its right bank, from the Alps to its junction with the Danube is fortified by a chain of rocks. The Salza is neither ſo large nor ſo rapid as the Inn, yet it is a river of conſiderable magnitude: Saltzburgh is ſituated on its right bank, about one hundred and forty miles Weſt-ſouth-weſt from Vienna.

Moreau having to paſs theſe rivers the retreating

Auſtrians were enabled to retard his march, and, in ſome degree, to weaken his force: ſtill, however, the French finally prevailed over obſtacles that, to a leſs perſevering army, or to one leſs accuſtomed to conquer, would have been conſidered as inſurmountable. The Inn was croſſed, December 9, at Nieupeurien, between Roſenheim and Kuffſtein, at Waſſerburg and at Mühldorff; the Salza between Saltzburgh and Lauffen.

The greateſt part of the Auſtrian army was concentrated on the ground between Lauffen and Saltzburgh. This was on the 12th December. A diviſion, under General Lecourbe, was ordered to advance on the right bank of the Saal, and another, under General Decaen, by Lauffen; while a corps of reſerve, under Generals Richepanſe and Grouchy, was ready to ſupport either Lecourbe or Decaen, according as circumſtances might render it neceſſary. General Lecourbe paſſed the Saal on the 13th December, without much difficulty, and made himſelf maſter of the village of Waal. General Decaen having arrived near Lauffen found the bridge broken down, and the enemy defending the heights which command it. At this critical juncture an act of bravery was performed: three chaſſeurs threw themſelves into the Salza, in ſpite of the intenſe cold, and ſwam over for ſome boats, on the oppoſite ſide; meanwhile others advanced and kept up a diſcharge of muſketry along the ruins of the bridge. About eighty men paſſed the river in the boats that had been ſeized; and before this handful of ſoldiers a party of Auſtrians retreated and left 200 priſoners! Such a paltry reſiſtance ſerved only to add freſh vigor to an enemy already full of an overweening con-

fidence, and at the ſame time contributed to ſpread a general ſenſe of inferiority and a ſtrong feeling of timidity through the Auſtrian army.

The commander in chief ordered Grenier to advance with his two diviſions to Lauffen, and the ſame orders were given to Generals Grouchy and Richepanſe: a new bridge was thrown acroſs the river, and 500 men, under the command of General Lecourbe, paſſed over it: they were continuing their route, when, on the morning of the 14th, the Auſtrians preſented themſelves in a large body. General Lecourbe knew his inferiority, and, conſequently, fell back, contenting himſelf with defending the road and maintaining poſſeſſion of the village of Waal. A ſevere action took place; but ſtill Lecourbe preſerved his poſition until timely aſſiſted by the whole diviſion of Decaen, who had paſſed the river, and in advancing kept up a terrible fire of artillery on all that oppoſed him; this movement favoured alſo the paſſage of a diviſion under Richepanſe, which now began to form on the right bank.

In the night of the 14th the Auſtrians retreated precipitately and the French entered Saltzburgh at eight o'clock in the morning: General Richepanſe, with the left diviſion of the French army, purſued the Imperialiſts along the road to Lintz and entered Newmack, the laſt poſt in Bavaria, on the frontiers of the Hereditary States of the Emperor. The Archduke John, whoſe head-quarters were removed to Braunau, on the Lower Inn, was by this manœuvre cut off from all communication with the Auſtrian commander, General Mollitor, in the Tyrol, who had a force of about 25,000 men, but who had no communication except with General Bellegarde.

A perilous enterprife was, in the meantime, effected by General Macdonald.—He had paffed, in the firft weeks of December, the Rhetian Alps, by the defiles of the Splugen and through Chiavenna, at the head of a column, in order to fupport the left wing of the Italian army, under the command of General Brune. The intrepid perfeverance of the General could alone have brought to a fuccefsful completion this undertaking; he led, in perfon, the pioneeers to near the fummit of the Splugen, which was filled up, and as it were obliterated, by the drifted fnow. He fet the example of working to open a path, which was effected; but the foremoft party had not advanced far when the path was again covered, and his grenadiers, finking in the fnow, began to believe that it was impoffible to proceed further: even the very poles, that had been fet up for marks, were covered with the fnow, which ftill continued to fall. But the General was himfelf the firft to advance at the head of the pioneers and found the road: thofe who were near him he animated by his voice and example; and, at length, he conducted his troops through all the dangers of the Splugen, and, on the 11th of December, gained the valley of the Adda, in the Valtelline, by which means a communication was opened with General Brune: at the fame time, likewife, he was maffer of both banks of the Upper Inn and of the Upper Engadine, and thus mutual communications were eftablifhed. The *Engadine*, or, as it is called by the natives and the neighbouring ftates, *Engadina*, is a country of the Grifons; it extends along the bank of the river Inn from its fource to the Tyrolefe, and is divided into the Upper and the Lower Engadine.

While all theſe combined operations were carrying on, the Gallo-Batavian army, under Augereau, whoſe right wing was to protect and co-operate with the left of Moreau's, gained ſome important advantages over the Auſtrians in Franconia. On the rupture of the armiſtice the Baron D'Albini, who commanded the troops of Mayence, ſtationed at Aſchaffenburg, attacked the Batavian infantry. Augereau having received intelligence from Moreau that the Auſtrians had aſſembled, to the number of twelve or thirteen thouſand, before Bamberg, reſolved to give them battle with two diviſions of his army, and to drive them beyond the Rednitz. They occupied, beſides the village, the two firſt heights that command Burgh-Eberach. They were driven from the village and the firſt height, but they made a reſolute ſtand on the ſecond, but they were forced to relinquiſh this after an obſtinate reſiſtance. General Duheſme took poſſeſſion of Bamberg on the 3d December. Augereau, informed of the ſucceſs of the army of the Rhine, withdrawing his right wing from the Rednitz, took poſſeſſion of Furchem and Nuremburg, and there meant to wait for further advices from Moreau. It was the object of the Auſtrians to cut off, if poſſible, the communication between Augereau and Moreau and to turn the left of the latter's army. Nothing but ſlight ſkirmiſhes took place from the 3d to the 17th: but a bloody battle was fought on the 18th between Nuremburg and Lauff; it laſted from nine o'clock in the morning till the cloſe of the day. The engagement was equally fierce on both ſides: the aſſailants were forced to fall back, but the loſs was ſuppoſed to be nearly equal in either army: a

hundred waggons were loaded with dead and wounded Auſtrians.

Such was the ſituation of affairs when the Auſtrian army of the Danube moved from Braunau, and, on the 16th of December, took an advantageous poſition behind the Traun. The command of the army was taken by the Archduke Charles, *with full powers;* a thing which had long been denied to him. A battle took place, in which the Auſtrians loſt in killed and wounded, from 300 to 500; 1,000 were taken priſoners, 600 of which were cavalry, with General Lopez, their commander. They ſuſtained another defeat, on the heights of Lambach, by Richepanſe, who drove them into the defiles of Lambach with great loſs. The Imperial army now retreated to Lintz, within 92 miles of Vienna: the French continued to advance, and on the 20th December fixed their head quarters at Wells.

The French army had now penetrated into the heart of Germany, and threatened even the Capital: their rapid ſucceſſes, and the indefatigable manner in which they followed thoſe ſucceſſes up, allowed no time to the retreating Auſtrians to recover themſelves; this perfection of military ſkill was well underſtood by Moreau, admirable not only in his plans but deciſive in their execution; the celerity with which he puſhed them one upon the other confounded his enemies; if he attacked and conquered, he followed the diſcomfited foe with ſuch perſeverance, that no time could be gained by them to reinſtate themſelves. In conformity with this ſyſtem, he now formed his army into three columns, of which the right, under Lecourbe, advanced towards the

mountains South of Steyer on the Ens; the centre, commanded by Moreau himself, set out for Steyer; and the left under Grenier, which had marched along the South banks of the Danube, and forced the Austrians to retreat from Lintz across the river, proceeded on the high road from Lintz towards Vienna. On the 24th Richepanse, with the advanced guard of the centre column, entered Steyer, in which he found 17 pieces of cannon, and made 4,000 prisoners. On the 25th, the French began to proceed onward to the next river, the Erlaph, and the Austrians to retire behind the Trasen, the last river of any note, within fifty miles of Vienna.

Thus critically situated, all was confusion, consternation, and dismay, within this extensive city; terror reigned in every countenance, except those, who, disaffected to the government, expected from the arrival of the French something, though they knew not what: yet it would be change, and change, to evil minds, though from bad to worse is preferable to the torpid state of inactivity and monotony, when their spirits feed upon themselves. In every country are to be found those restless and unquiet spirits, that seem to find no consolation in existing things; to create disturbance, whence some change of condition may arise, is the only balm they can apply to minds harassed with care and satiated with vice. In every country too there are cool, calculating knaves, who speculate upon ruin and anarchy with the apathy of demons; they infuse their doctrines into the minds of the eager and wavering multitude, and thus create sects. These are the inseparable pests of all large cities, and of these Vienna was not, of

courſe, deſtitute. In proportion as the common enemy approached, their ſpirits roſe; they had meetings, and anticipated ſcenes of glorious uproar and ruin; they took no pains to conceal their ſentiments, and the loyal and the virtuous felt their dread increaſe when they ſaw traitors within the walls and enemies without. The city was in a ſtate of utter confuſion; trade was ſtopped; families kept within doors, and ſcarcely ventured into the ſtreets; diſtruſt and ſuſpicion prevailed; the wealthy trembled for their money and their palaces; the honeſt artiſan, the induſtrious tradeſman, ſhuddered at the thought of ſeeing his little property pillaged by a band of lawleſs invaders, who would ravage and ſpoil wherever they entered; they looked upon their families and wept, as they thought that a few days might behold them a prey to ruffian violence and ſanguinary cruelty. The conſternation was increaſed by the departure of the Imperial family, who ſet out for Offen, eſcorted by a party of the life-guards. The gallery of paintings, with the Imperial treaſury, other valuable articles, and the City treaſury, were placed in waggons, and ready to be removed from the capital: ſuch preparations could not fail to excite the moſt lively alarm; but the fears of the good were quieted, and the hopes of the factious were fruſtrated by the arrival of the Archduke Charles at Vienna, on the 27th December, at ten in the morning, who brought the conſolatory intelligence of his having concluded an armiſtice at Steyer, of thirty days, with General Moreau.

This armiſtice was a meaſure perhaps equally neceſſary to both; as will appear from the following

candid ſtatement of the General of Diviſion, Defolles, to the French Miniſter at War; it is dated,

"Head Quarters, Steyer Dec. 26, 1800.

"The Archduke Charles has propoſed an armiſtice to the General in Chief, at the ſame time announcing to him, that the Emperor had ſent a courier to M. Cobentzel at Luneville, where a negotiation had been opened in the end of September, with orders to ſign a peace.

"The General in Chief, conſidering that the line of the Traun and Ens was forced, that we had advanced a hundred leagues before the other armies, that the Auſtrian army in Italy was behind us; that, of courſe M. de Bellegarde had two grand means, from Saltzburgh and Inſpruck, to ſend a detachment, which, joining itſelf to the troops left in Tyrol, might fall upon our rear, and cut off our communication with France, has thought it his duty to conſent to a convention, which, procuring us great advantages, left us the means, at the ame time, of waiting for the operations of the army of Italy, of which we have yet had no intelligence.

"The character of the Archduke Charles, his well known probity and honour, are ſufficient pledges to us of the deſire the Emperor now feels to put an end to the war. To this he has, beſides, been compelled by the deplorable ſtate of hi army, which, having loſt in twenty days ſixty-ſix leagues of country, 25,000 priſoners, from 12 to 15,000 in killed or wounded, 140 pieces of cannon, and immenſe magazines, is not, at preſent, and would not be for theſe three months, in a ſtate to prevent our army from conquering all Auſtria, and dictating laws to its Capital; but, to do this without danger, it was neceſſary that the army ſhould have been maſter of the head of the defiles of Carinthia.

"The General in Chief, believed, beſides, that to ſtop in the midſt of the moſt brilliant victories was conformable to that character of moderation in which the Chief Conſul

wiſhes to make himſelf known to the whole of Europe. I have the honour to addreſs to you a copy of the armiſtice. The Emperor has determined to treat of peace, whatever may be the determination of his Allies; and our line, as it approaches to the Danube and to the mountains of the Tyrol, and puts into our hands the ſtations of Ruffſteinſhoer, Nitz, Braunau, and other ſtations, will afford us the means of renewing the war with the greateſt advantages, but above all, with the greateſt ſecurity."

It is impoſſible not to obſerve in this Letter the uſual policy, and the uſual oſtentation of the French general. While it is allowed that their ſituation was inſecure, that their communication with France was liable to be cut off, they yet endeavour to maintain that the neceſſity for peace lay wholly with the Auſtrians. It cannot be doubted that the Auſtrians yielded at the very moment when they ought to have reſiſted moſt vigorouſly; they ſhould either have fought the armiſtice a fortnight before, or elſe have combated with deſperate reſolution beneath the walls of their own city. There is a time to yield, when ſubmiſſion may be dignified with the name of prudence; but, to relinquiſh, when the occaſion for reſiſtance is tenfold, is puſillanimous in the extreme. The French general ſeemed to doubt the ſincerity of the Archduke's intentions, notwithſtanding the compliment he choſe to pay him: the concluſion of the Letter ſhews that they are ready, and advantageouſly diſpoſed for war, though willing for peace.

By this armiſtice, the French army of the Rhine obtained a triangular portion of territory, whoſe baſe reſted on Chiavenna and Wurtzburg, and whoſe point was between Leoben and Pachlarn on the

Danube, within fifty-two Engliſh miles from Vienna. This armiſtice comprehended the Gallo-Batavian army, as well as that of the Rhine; its duration was to be for thirty days, and hoſtilities were not to be re-commenced after its expiration, until a previous notice of fifteen days had been given: the armiſtice might, therefore, be indefinitely prolonged until the notice of the rupture. No corps or detachments, either of the French army of the Rhine, or that of his Imperial Majeſty in Germany, were to be ſent to the reſpective armies in Italy, ſo long as there ſhould be no armiſtice between the French and the Imperial armies in that country. In addition to this, Moreau promiſed to diſpatch, with the utmoſt diligence, the preſent convention to the General in Chief of the Gallo-Batavian army, that of the Griſons, and that of Italy; urging them ſtrongly at the ſame time, particularly the army of Italy, to conclude a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities.

Thus ſucceeded another calm to the ſtorm of war; but the preſent incipient pacification produced a numerous brood: peace-making became the faſhion of the year, as we ſhall ſee hereafter: all the miniſters of Europe were buſily employed in negotiating with the agents of the Firſt Conſul; and Great Britain, the haughtieſt combatant, who had diſdainfully rejected the informal advances of Buonaparté on his firſt acceſſion to power, found herſelf among the nations who reſted the probability of their ſecurity upon the ſtability of his power and the moderation of his views. But hiſtory might have informed them that uſurpation is built upon action; to leave the ſubjected at reſt is to give them opportunities

for caballing; and though a temporary ſuſpenſion of active warfare may ſuit the policy of the moment, it is too often eſſentially hoſtile to the permanent views of an aſpiring candidate for fame and royalty. The truth of theſe remarks will be abundantly verified by the events which we have yet to produce.

CHAPTER II.

*General Reflections.—Affairs of Italy resumed.—The French invade Tuscany and enter Leghorn.—Confiscate the English Property in Leghorn, though declared a neutral Town by the Armistice of Marengo.—Reflections.—Dispatches of General Dupont, and Reflections thereon.—Ostensible and real Motives of the Irruption of the French into Tuscany.—Hostilities recommenced.—Their successful Termination in Favour of the French.—Armistice of Treviso.—Answer of Buonaparté to the Court of Vienna, and his Views therein displayed.—*TREATY OF PEACE SIGNED AT LUNEVILLE.*—Reflections.—Brave Resistance of the Garrison of Porto Ferrajo till the Peace between England and France.*

WE must now turn our attention to the affairs of Italy, that fair portion of the globe, so dear in name to every scholar, so rich in art to every admirer of ancient excellence. The modern Hannibal, as he has not unaptly been termed, had already ravaged a large part of this country, when he first appeared upon the theatre of the French Revolution; it was there that he won some of his fairest laurels; it was there that he first displayed those intrepid features of his mind, that ardent love of glory, that prompt execution of his designs, that happy facility by which he inspired his soldiers with an emulation and an ardour that nothing could resist: it was there too, probably, that the seeds of that gigantic ambition which has since shaken Europe to her centre, were first sown; he felt his power, and he saw himself

idolized; he was hailed by his admiring countrymen as a ſucceſsful general and an able negotiator; a party inſenſibly formed round him, for every great man is a centre, to which weaker bodies tend as by a natural gravitation; and when the councils of the French nation were inert and diſtracted, paralyſed by want of unanimity, and tottering to their foundation, Buonaparté ſtepped forth, not to uphold, but to deſtroy, and to erect himſelf upon their ruins; yet, however, he appears only as a tyro in the ſtruggle: a wider field opens hereafter, and we ſhall ſee him acting a part that puts to ſhame the boldeſt deeds of former adventurers: but we will not anticipate futurity.

Our readers will recollect that an armiſtice was concluded between the French and Auſtrians after the celebrated battle of Marengo, (ſee vol. IV. p. 278.) By this convention the French army was to occupy the country compriſed between the Chieſa, the Oglio, and the Po; and the Auſtrians, beſides certain territories that were ſpecified on the left bank of the Po, were to occupy the city and citadel of Ferrara, on the right bank; they were alſo to occupy Tuſcany and Ferrara. Contrary, however, to this ſtipulation, the Auſtrians continued to keep poſſeſſion not only of the town and citadel, but alſo of a large territory called the Poleſino of Ferrara: nor was the diſpute likely to ariſe about this, all; at the ſame time, a general inſurrection of the people in Tuſcany took place; hoſtilities, were, therefore, on the point of being recommenced; when General Brune, informed of the ſigning of preliminaries by Count St. Julian, at Paris, and of the arrival of Count Cobenzel at Luneville, immediately communicated his intention

to General Bellegarde, that until he received further orders from his government, he ſhould ſuſpend the motions of the military force under his command. This inſurrection of the people of Tuſcany, was, more properly ſpeaking, a ſort of *levy en maſſe*; and, in the preliminaries above mentioned, the Emperor had engaged for the diſarming of this force.

A new convention was agreed to on the 20th September, at Caſtiglione, by which General Brune conſented to wait for an anſwer from Vienna, relative to the evacuation of the Ferrara by the Auſtrians; and in this treaty an utter ſilence was preſerved with regard to the diſarming the *levy en maſſe*. The French general, however, inſiſted upon it as a matter of courſe, for it was ſuppoſed that this *levy en maſſe* was paid by the Engliſh, more eſpecially as it had been reinforced by a corps from Naples. The whole, however, was a mere pretext on the part of the French to have ſome plea for an irruption into Tuſcany; a ſcheme which they conſidered as neceſſary, leſt, in caſe of a renewal of war, the Engliſh ſhould land in that quarter, a thing of which they were extremely apprehenſive, and which was certainly intended. In purſuit of this object a general officer, with a ſmall eſcort, was ſent by General Dupont, in the name of the Commander in Chief, to General Sommariva, who commanded the troops in Tuſcany, with a requeſt that he would diſarm the *levy en maſſe*, or, as it was called, the national guard; and alſo diſperſe the brigands, or parties of robbers. It was alſo further ſignified to Sommariva, that if the armed peaſants were not diſbanded, and quietly ſent back to their homes, he would enter Tuſcany with a military force, and puniſh them for the inceſſant

outrages which they committed upon the territories occupied by the French army. Promiſes of compliance, it is ſaid, were given by Sommariva, but they were never fulfilled; and Lieutenant-general Dupont, entered Florence on the 15th October, with a great army, which he had concentrated on the left bank of the Po, and General Clement on the 16th entered Leghorn.

The inſurgents were eaſily diſperſed; General Sommariva and the Auſtrians under his command, to the number of 2,500, were permitted to retire to Ancona. The merchandiſe of the Engliſh found in Tuſcany, and more particularly that which was found in Leghorn, was confiſcated. This was one of thoſe arbitrary and flagrantly unjuſt actions which have ſo repeatedly marked the progreſs of the French: by the armiſtice of Marengo, Leghorn was permitted to retain its neutrality; yet now, in open defiance of every honourable principle, and in contempt of the eſtabliſhed uſages of civilized nations, they diſregarded that immunity and ſeized upon the property of the Engliſh. We were, indeed, too alert for their rapacity, though this does not diminiſh their infamy a jot: by our maritime ſuperiority we ſhipped the greater part of it away.

The army of Tuſcan inſurgents amounted to 25,000. Dupont, in one of his diſpatches to the General in Chief, Le Brune, dated Head-quarters, Florence, October 19, 1800, ſays: "The preſence of the French in Tuſcany had been thought neceſſary by ſeveral of the partiſans of the Grand Duke themſelves, who felt that the ſafety and honour of the French army required the meaſures which he (General Brune) had ordered."

No doubt the Grand Duke and the inhabitants of Tuſcany felt equally gratified at this obliging attention of the French army to their wiſhes! and they had, ultimately, as much reaſon to rejoice as thoſe other nations of the continent who had been more forward in courting the honours of French fraternization. There was a degree of impudence and quackery employed by the revolutionary generals and ſtateſmen (if it be not a degradation to employ the latter term) which aſtoniſhed and confounded Europe. At the very moment when they were oppreſſing the conquered, or conquering the free, they did not bluſh to promulgate the moſt groſs and obvious falſehoods reſpecting the friendſhip and extraordinary love with which they were received. They were careleſs of detection; they had no honour to loſe, and could not, therefore, be influenced by thoſe motives which have weight with other men. If a general could ſend a flattering addreſs to his employers, ſetting forth the great delight and joy which the appearance of himſelf and his army occaſioned; if a director or a conſul could proclaim to the thoughtleſs Pariſians, that the ſanguinary progreſs of their troops, contrary to the uſual tenor of human experience, excited love, and admiration, and friendſhip; that thoſe who had the moſt enormous contributions levied upon them were happy; that thoſe who had their villages deſtroyed, and their hopes for ever blighted, were cheerful and thankful! If ſuch narratives, no matter how improbable or how certain of ultimate detection, could be vamped up to anſwer the purpoſe of the moment, their authors ſeem to have been perfectly ſatisfied, and were content to barter honeſt fame and manly worth for the poor gratification of

momentary *eclát*, refulting from the fucceſsful employment of infamous and degrading falſehoods. Thus we find Dupont celebrating the wiſhes of the conquered Duke and his partiſans for the appearance of a French army in Tuſcany! Is this probable? After nearly ten years of warfare enough had been ſeen of French principles to render their preſence any thing but an object of deſire. Where is the monarch, or where are *his* partiſans, that could wiſh to ſee their common country over-run by a lawleſs horde of ſoldiers, whoſe firſt and only object was to pillage and deſtroy? Could, indeed, any monarch be ſo loſt as to ſeek this, he deſerves, in our opinion, only ſuch allies as a revolutionary French army.

Dupont, however, had another motive for an irruption into Tuſcany beſides the great longing which the inhabitants had for him; a tender concern for the welfare of the people! "Beſides," ſays he, "the extraordinary levies inſpired a very lively fear for the tranquillity of the interior of Tuſcany; for their pay was an enormous weight, which that ſtate could not ſupport." This kind attention to the comforts and the advantages of the Tuſcans merits, no doubt, the higheſt praiſe. But, in fact, the ſtep was altogether unjuſtifiable: yet they wiſhed to derive every poſſible advantage from it, without, however, breaking the armiſtice! and General Dupont, therefore adds, "that he had obſerved the higheſt reſpect towards the Auſtrian troops; and that nothing had paſſed which could, in the ſlighteſt degree, affect the armiſtice: all the officers had acknowledged in that procedure, that the occupation was a particular meaſure, which ought not to diminiſh the harmony that prevailed between the two armies." In the inſolent fallacy of

this reaſoning the Court of Vienna ſeemed to acquieſce, for nothing of any importance occurred between the two armies till the expiration of the truce of Hohenlinden. The movements of Le Brune were entirely directed by thoſe of Moreau.

It appears at firſt to have been the plan of the French to fall on the Auſtrians on the Lake of Garda and then to turn the lines of the Mincio; this, however, did not take place; other arrangements, in conſequence of the reports received reſpecting the Auſtrian army, were adopted, which led, finally, to ſuch ſucceſſes, that an Auſtrian colonel arrived at the French head-quarters and propoſed conditions of an armiſtice, which was concluded on the 16th Jan. 1801, at Treviſo, the capital of the Venetian province of Treviſano, within twenty miles of Venice. The line of demarcation between the two armies was to be the Tagliamento, from its ſource in the mountains of the Tyrol to where it falls into the Adriatic. The four fortreſſes of Peſchiera, Porto-Legnano, Ferrara, and Ancona, were to be given up to the French; the blockade of Mantua was to be continued: but, by a new armiſtice, concluded at Luneville, on the 6th February, the Emperor, as a proof of ſincerity, agreed to give up, beſides the four fortreſſes juſt mentioned, that alſo of Mantua.

The great object of Buonaparté in theſe negotiations is ſufficiently diſplayed in the anſwer which he made to the propoſal of peace by the Court of Vienna: "The left bank of the Rhine ſhall be the boundary of the French Republic; ſhe makes no pretenſion to the right bank. The intereſt of Europe does not permit the Emperor to paſs the Adige. The inde-

pendence of the Helvetic and Batavian Republics ſhall be enſured and guaranteed. Our victories add nothing to the pretenſions of the French people. Auſtria ought not to expect from her defeats what ſhe could not have obtained by her victories: ſuch are the invariable principles of the government. The welfare of France ſhall be to reſtore tranquillity to Germany and Italy; her glory to deliver the continent from the avaricious and deſtructive genius of England."

It may be remarked here, that as Moreau, in the armiſtice of Steyer, included the Gallo Batavian army, ſo General Brune, in his ſtipulations with General Bellegarde, included that of the Griſons. But Macdonald, who was deſirous of performing ſome feat that might aſtoniſh Europe after his paſſage of the mountains, wrote a captious and peeviſh letter to General Brune; in which he obſerves, among other ſubjects of reproach, that he, Le Brune, "had no right to ſtipulate for the army of the Griſons; the buſineſs of which was only to favour the operations of the army of Italy, without giving you any right to command me." It is eaſy to ſee that a mean and illaudable deſire to acquire perſonal glory, at the expenſe of humanity and the intereſts of ſociety, influenced Macdonald here, who preferred the opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf by ſome act of greatneſs to the more dignified renown of ſaving the effuſion of human blood. Such is man, and ſuch his paſſions! the feelings of ſelf intereſt obtrude upon the mind and blind it to the nobler impulſes, which would direct it to a more glorious and more ſolid renown. This diſpute between the two generals was ſoon ended, how-

Francis 2d.
Emperor of Germany.

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ever, by the convention of Luneville, where all the demands of the French were complaisantly granted.

Buonaparté now obtained his wish: Germany, who had so long resolved not to treat separately, found herself reduced to a situation which no longer permitted her to think of her Allies: these successive armistices led the way to a final pacification; and, after various delays, negotiations, and concessions, the following Articles of Peace were definitively agreed upon, between the First Consul of the French Republic and the Emperor of Germany:

TREATY OF PEACE.

Concluded at Luneville, February 9, 1801, *between the* FRENCH REPUBLIC *and the Emperor and the* GERMANIC BODY.

"His Majesty the Emperor and King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, having equally at heart to put an end to the miseries of war, have resolved to proceed to the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace and amity.

"His said Imperial and Royal Majesty, not less anxiously desirous of making the Germanic Empire participate in the blessings of peace; and the present conjuncture not allowing the time necessary for the Empire to be consulted, and to take part by its deputies in the negotiation; his said Majesty having, besides regard to what has been agreed upon by the deputation of the Empire at the preceding congress at Rastadt, has resolved, in conformity with the precedent of what has taken place in similar circumstances, to stipulate in the name of the Germanic Body.

"In consequence of which the contracting parties have appointed as their plenipotentiaries; to wit:

"His Imperial and Royal Majesty, the Sieur Louis Cobentzel, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the royal order of

St. John of Jerusalem, Chamberlain and Privy Counsellor of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, his Minister for Conference, and Vice-chancellor of court of state;

"And the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, has appointed Citizen Joseph Buonaparté, Counsellor of State; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following Articles:

ART. I. There shall be, henceforth and for ever, peace, amity, and good understanding, between his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia; stipulating as well in his own name as that of the Germanic Empire and the French Republic; his said Majesty engaging to cause the Empire to give ratification in good and due form to the present Treaty. The greatest attention shall be paid on both sides to the maintenance of perfect harmony, to preventing all hostilities by land and by sea, on whatever pretence, and to carefully endeavour to maintain the union happily established. No assistance or protection shall be given, either directly or indirectly, to those who would do any thing to the prejudice of either of the contracting parties.

II. The cession of the *ci-devant* Belgic provinces to the French Republic, stipulated by the 3d article of the treaty of Campo Formio, is renewed here in the most formal manner; so that his Imperial and Royal Majesty, for himself and his successors, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, renounces all his right and title to the said provinces, which shall be possessed henceforth as their sovereign right and property by the French Republic, with all the territorial property dependant on it. There shall also be given up to the French Republic by his Imperial and Royal Majesty, and with the formal consent of the Empire;

1st. The castle of Falkenstein, with its dependencies:

2d. The Frickthal, and all belonging to the House of Austria on the left banks of the Rhine between Zurzach

and Baſle; the French Republic reſerving to itſelf the right of ceding the latter country to the Helvetian Republic.

III. In the ſame manner, in the renewal and confirmation of the 6th article of the treaty of Campo Formio, his Majeſty the Emperor and King ſhall poſſeſs in ſovereignty, and as his right, the countries below enumerated; viz. Iſtria, Dalmatia, and the Venetian iſles in the Adriatic, dependant upon thoſe countries; the Bocca de Cattaro; the city of Venice; the canals, and the country included between the hereditary ſtates of his Majeſty the Emperor and King; the Adriatic Sea, and the Adige, from its leaving the Tyrol to the mouth of the ſaid ſea, the towing-path of the Adige ſerving as the line of limitation: and as by this line the cities of Verona and of Porto Legnano will be divided, there ſhall be eſtabliſhed on the middle of the bridges of the ſaid cities drawbridges, to mark the ſeparation.

IV. The 18th article of the treaty of Campo Formio is alſo renewed, thus far: that his Majeſty the Emperor and King binds himſelf to yield to the Duke of Modena, as an indemnity for the country which this prince and his heirs hac in Italy, the Briſgau; which he ſhall hold on the ſame terms as thoſe by virtue of which he poſſeſſes the Modeneſe.

V. It is, moreover, agreed, that his Royal Highneſs the Grand Duke of Tuſcany ſhall renounce, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, the Grand Duchy of Tuſcany and that part of the Iſle of Elba which is dependant upon it, as well as all right and title reſulting from his claims on the ſaid ſtates, which ſhall be henceforth poſſeſſed in complete ſovereignty, and as his own property, by his Royal Highneſs the infant Duke of Parma. The Grand Duke ſhall obtain in Germany a full and complete indemnity for his Italian ſtates. The Grand Duke muſt diſpoſe at pleaſure of the goods and property which he poſſeſſes in Tuſcany, either by perſonal acquiſitions or by deſcent from his brother the Emperor Leopold II. or from his grandfather the Emperor Francis I. It is alſo agreed that the creditors, eſtabliſh-

ments, and other property of the Grand Duchy, as well as the debts secured from the country, shall pass to the Grand Duke.

VI. His Majesty the Emperor and King, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, consents that the French Republic shall possess henceforth in complete sovereignty, and as their property, the country and domains situated on the left bank of the Rhine and which formed part of the Germanic Empire: so that, in conformity with what had been expressly consented to at the congress of Rastadt by the deputation of the Empire, and approved by the Emperor, the towing-path of the Rhine will henceforth be the limit between the French Republic and the Germanic Empire; that is to say, from the place where the Rhine leaves the Helvetic to that where it enters the Batavian territory.

In consequence of this the French Republic formally renounces all possession whatever on the right bank of the Rhine, and consents to restore to those to whom they may may belong the fortresses of Dusseldorff, Ehrenbrietstein, Philipsburg, the fort of Cassel, and other fortifications opposite to Mentz, on the right bank the fort of Kehl, and Old Brissach, on the express condition, that these places and fortresses shall continue and remain in the same state in which they were at the time of their evacuation.

VII. And as, in consequence of the cession which the Empire will be dispossessed, either altogether or in part, whom it is incumbent upon the Germanic Empire, collectively to support and compensate for the losses resulting from the stipulations in the present treaty; it is agreed between his Majesty the Emperor and King, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, and the French Republic, that, in conformity with the principles formally established at the congress at Rastadt, the Emperor shall be bound to give to the Hereditary Princes who shall be dispossessed on the left bank of the Rhine indemnity, which shall be taken from the whole of the Empire, according to

arrangements which, on these bases, shall be ultimately determined upon.

VIII. In all the ceded countries acquired or exchanged by the present treaty, it is agreed, as had already been done by the 4th and 10th articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, that those to whom they shall belong shall take them, subject to the debts charged on the said countries; but considering the difficulties which have arisen in this respect, with regard to the interpretation of the said articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, it is expressly understood, that the French Republic will not take upon itself any more than the debts resulting from the loans formally agreed to by the states of the ceded countries, or by the actual administration of such countries.

IX. Immediately after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, the sequestration imposed on property, effects, and revenues of the inhabitants or proprietors, shall be taken off. The contracting parties oblige themselves to pay all they may owe for money lent them by individuals, as well as by the public establishments of the said countries, created for their benefit on every one of them. In consequence of this it is expressly admitted, that the holders of stock in the bank of Vienna, become French subjects, shall continue to enjoy the benefit of their funds, and shall receive the interest accrued or to accrue, notwithstanding any sequestration, or any demand derogatory to their rights; particularly, notwithstanding the infringement which the holders aforesaid, become French subjects, sustained by not being able to pay the thirty-and-one hundred per cent demanded by his Imperial and Royal Majesty of all creditors of the bank of Vienna.

X. The contracting parties shall also cause all the sequestrations to be taken off which have been imposed, on account of the war, on the property, the rights, and revenues of the Emperor or of the Empire in the territory of the French Republic, and of the French citizens in the state of his said Majesty or the Empire.

XI. The preſent treaty of peace, and particularly the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 15th articles, are declared to extend to and to be common to the Batavian, Helvetic, Ciſalpine, and Ligurian Republics. The contracting parties mutually guarantee the independence of the ſaid Republic, and the right of the people who inhabit them to adopt what form of government they pleaſe.

XII. His Imperial and Royal Majeſty renounces for himſelf, and his ſucceſſors, in favour of the Ciſalpine Republic, all rights and titles ariſing from thoſe rights which his Majeſty might claim on the countries, which he poſſeſſed before the war, and which, by the conditions of the 8th article of the treaty of Campo Formio, now form part of the Ciſalpine Republic, which ſhall poſſeſs them as their ſovereignty and property, with all the territorial property dependent upon it.

XIII. His Imperial and Royal Majeſty, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, confirms the agreement already entered into by the treaty of Campo Formio, for the union of the *ci devant* Imperial Fiefs to the Ligurian Republic, and renounces all rights and titles ariſing from theſe rights on the ſaid fiefs.

XIV. In conformity to the 2nd article of the treaty of Campo Formio, the navigation of the Adige, which ſerves as the limits between his Majeſty the Emperor and King, and the navigation of the rivers in the Ciſalpine Republic ſhall be free; nor ſhall any toll be impoſed on any ſhip of war kept there.

XV. All priſoners of war on both ſides, as well as hoſtages taken or given during the war, who ſhall not be yet reſtored, ſhall be ſo within forty days from the time of ſigning the preſent treaty.

XVI. The real and perſonal property, unalienated, of his Royal Highneſs the Archduke Charles, and of the heirs of her Royal Highneſs the Archduchneſs Chriſtiana, deceaſed, ſituated in the countries ceded to the French Republic, ſhall be reſtored to them on condition of their

lding them within three years. The ſame ſhall be the caſe alſo with the landed and perſonal property of their Royal Highneſſes the Archduke Ferdinand and the Archduchefs Beatrice, his wife, in the territory of the Ciſalpine Republic.

XVII. The 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 23d articles of the treaty of Campio Formio, are particularly renewed, and are to be executed according to their form and effect, as if they were here repeated *verbatim*.

XVIII. The contributions, payments, and war impoſitions, of whatever kind, ſhall ceaſe from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty, on the one hand by his Imperial Majeſty, and of the German Empire, and on the other by the French Republic.

XIX. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified by his Majeſty the Emperor and King, by the Empire, and by the French Republic, in the ſpace of thirty days, or ſooner if poſſible; and it is agreed that the armies of the two powers ſhall remain in their preſent poſition, both in Germany and Italy, until the ratification ſhall be reſpectively and at the ſame moment exchanged at Luneville.

"It is alſo agreed, that, ten days after the exchange of the ratifications, the armies of his Imperial and Royal Majeſty, ſhall enter the hereditary poſſeſſions, which ſhall within the ſame ſpace of time be evacuated by the French armies; and thirty days after the ſaid ratifications ſhall be exchanged the French armies ſhall evacuate the whole of the territory of the ſaid Empire.

"Executed at Luneville, Feb. 9th 1801.

(L. S.) "LOUIS, COUNT COBENTZEL.

(L. S.) "JOSEPH BONAPARTE."

This ſucceſsful termination of a war which had been carried on with few interruptions for a period of ten years, diffuſed a general ſatisfaction through France; and the Firſt Conſul immediately notified the joyful event to the Legiſlative Body, the Tribunate, and the Conſervative Senate: his Addreſs, as

uſual, abounded with a florid amplification of facts, and an affected ſententiouſneſs of language. Among other things he did not fail to re-echo the hacknied topic, that it was England alone, which, by its gold and ambition, continued to diſturb the tranquillity of mankind:

"The continental peace," ſays he, "has been ſigned at Luneville; it is ſuch as the French people deſired. Their firſt wiſh was the boundary of the Rhine. Reverſes never ſhook their reſolution; victory never added to their pretenſions.

"After having re-eſtabliſhed the ancient limits of Gaul, they had to give freedom to the people who were united to them by one common origin, as well as by a community of intereſts and manners.

"The liberty of the Ciſalpines, and of Liguria, is ſecured.

"After this duty, there was another, which juſtice and and generoſity impoſed.

"The King of Spain had been faithful to our cauſe, and ſuffered for it. Neither our reverſes, nor the perfidious inſinuations of our enemies, could detach him from our intereſts; he will have a juſt recompenſe; a prince of his blood is to ſit on the throne of Tuſcany.

"He will remember what he owes to the fidelity of Spain and to the friendſhip of France; his roadſteads and his ports will be ſhut againſt our enemies, and will become the aſylum of our commerce and our ſhips.

"Auſtria, and it is this which is the pledge of peace, Auſtria henceforth ſeparated from the Republic by vaſt regions, will no longer feel that rivalry, thoſe heart burnings, which, for ſo many ages, have occaſioned the torment of theſe two powers, and the calamities of Europe.

"By this treaty every thing is ſettled with reſpect to France; it will no longer have to ſtruggle againſt the forms and the intrigues of a congreſs.

"The government owes the expreſſion of its ſatisfaction, to the Miniſter Plenipotentiary who has conducted the negotiation to this happy termination. There remain neither interpretations to be feared nor explanations to be demanded, nor thoſe equivocal arrangements in which the diplomatic art depoſits the ſeeds of a new war.

"Wherefore, was not this treaty the treaty of a general peace? this was the wiſh of France: this was the conſtant object of the efforts of the government.

"But its efforts are in vain! all Europe knows that the Britiſh miniſter has endeavoured to fruſtrate the negotiations at Luneville.

"In vain did an agent, auth riſed by the government, declare to him, on the 9th of October 1800, that France was ready to enter into a ſeparate negotiation. This declaration only produced a refuſal, under the pretext that England could not abandon her ally. Since then, when their ally conſents to treat without England, that government ſeeks other means to delay a peace ſo neceſſary to the world.

"It violates conventions which humanity had conſecrated, and declares war againſt miſerable fiſhermen!

"It raiſes pretenſions contrary to the dignity and the rights of all nations. The whole commerce of Aſia, and of immenſe colonies, does not ſatisfy its ambition. All the ſeas muſt ſubmit to the excluſive ſovereignty of England. It arms againſt Ruſſia, Denmark, and Sweden, becauſe Ruſſia, Denmark, and Sweden, have ſecured, by treaties of guarantee, their ſovereignty and the independence of their flags.

"The powers of the North, unjuſtly attacked, have a right to reckon upon France. The French government will avenge with them a common injury to all nations; without ever loſing ſight, however, that it ought only to fight for peace and the good of the world."

Such was the mixture of hypocriſy, vaunting, and falſehood, that Buonaparté addreſſed to his different

ſenates. To England, as to the natural enemy of France, he does not conceal one jot of his antipathy, and with that happy art of amplifying trifles into ſerious objects, which he ſo eminently poſſeſſes, he endeavours to fix upon this country the ſtigma of waging war with "miſerable fiſhermen."

Upon this ſubject a long correſpondence took place between M. Otto and the Tranſport Board, reſpecting the capture of fiſhermen on the coaſt of France. This practice had been for a time ſuſpended by the Engliſh, and thoſe who had been made priſoners were releaſed upon the expreſs condition that they ſhould not ſerve againſt this country; but, it was found that the perfidy of France was not to be relied on: theſe very fiſhermen were employed, along with their boats, to equip and arm the fleet of the enemy in Breſt; in every point of view, therefore, they deſerved to be conſidered as hoſtile perſons, and to be ſubject to the chances of war. The order for their capture was, therefore, again renewed, and a communication from the Tranſport Office demanded of M. Otto, through his means, "the immediate return into this country of all the fiſhermen releaſed on their parole:" and it was added that thoſe who ſhould neglect to conform to theſe orders would be treated with all the rigor of the laws, ſhould they again be made priſoners. Mr. Dundas, alſo communicated with Mr. Otto upon the ſubject. M. Otto in his reply, informed the Tranſport Office that he had tranſmitted their Letter to his Government; but, meanwhile, he added ſome remarks upon the impolicy of the meaſure, which were not altogether devoid of cogency. At length a Letter arrived from Talleyrand, ordering M. Otto to leave England, and

concluding with a flouriſh of humanity, too obviouſly affected to deſerve praiſe or credit; "It having been always," ſays Talleyrand, in the name of the Firſt Conſul, "the firſt deſire of the French government to contribute to a general pacification, and a maxim with it to ſoften, as much as poſſible, the evils of war; the Government cannot, on its part, think of making the poor fiſhermen victims of the prolongation of hoſtility; it will, therefore, abſtain from all ſuch repriſals, and, on the contrary, it has given orders for all the French ſhips, armed for war, or cruiſing, to leave the occupation of fiſhermen uninterrupted."

This was a mere piece of political fineſſe, endeavouring to vaunt the generous magnanimity of the "Great Nation," and to ſhew the barbarous ferocity of the Engliſh. The world, however, could not long be duped; if theſe men were hoſtilely employed againſt this country, it mattered not whether they were young or old, fiſhermen, or ſhepherds, they were juſt objects of our reſentment, and liable to all the rigours of a ſtate of warfare.

But let us return from this petty diſpute to the grand operations on the continent.

The treaty of Luneville being ſigned, Italy and Germany were now at the nod of Buonaparté. Theſe great countries, from the ſhores of the Mediterranean to the Lower Rhine, the French contemplated as one continued ſcene of victory, power, and triumph. The Emperor had ſuſtained many reverſes of fortune, and it cannot be denied that he had gallantly maintained a conteſt, the propriety of whoſe origin yet remains a problem to the politicians of the day.

Humbled as he now was, there appeared every probability of a lafting peace; he would not, indeed he could not, very ſoon be in a condition to renew the war; and the Firſt Conſul thus ſaw the boundaries of France enlarged, and his own power acquiring daily a greater ſtability.

Before we conclude our view of the military operations of this period, we muſt not omit to notice the bravery with which a ſmall garriſon in the town and fortreſs of Porto Ferrajo, in the iſle of Elba, on the coaſt of Tuſcany, defied the utmoſt efforts of the French for its reduction, at a time when almoſt the whole continent was crouching at their feet.

When the French troops entered Tuſcany in October, 1800, a number of Engliſh who were at Leghorn, under the conduct of Mr. Iſaac Grant, the Engliſh Vice Conſul at that port, took refuge in Porto Ferrajo; at his inſtigation, the inhabitants formed the magnanimous reſolution of defending themſelves againſt the Republicans. The men prepared for active warfare, and even the women took a part in the defence of the place. Three hundred ſoldiers, principally artillerymen, were afforded them from the Engliſh ſquadron under Sir J. B. Warren. In addition to this, there were 400 Corſicans, paid by the Engliſh, and a number of Neapolitan deſerters; ſo that the effective garriſon of the place amounted to 1,500 effective men.

On the land ſide it was inveſted by a French army of 5,000 men: batteries were raiſed, and the town and fortreſs were bombarded. It was twice attempted to be ſtormed, but the aſſailants were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. A ſally was made by the beſieged, led on by Mr. Grant, and the principal

batteries of the French were deſtroyed. The beſieging army was reinforced, new batteries were conſtructed, and the bombardment was ready to be recommenced; when, in the beginning of Auguſt, the inhabitants of Porto Ferrajo were ſummoned to ſurrender, by the Count of Ventura, the miniſter of their new ſovereign, the King of Etruria, with a promiſe of amneſty. * To this ſummons the garriſon returned for anſwer, that they acknowledged no authority but that of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany. The bombardment was recommenced from a new battery of four mortars, which did great damage.

Sir J. B. Warren, who was watching the motions of the enemy at Toulon, left a diviſion of his ſquadron to cover Porto Ferrajo. On the 14th September, the Admiral returned. His whole force amounted to ſeven ſhips of the line, three frigates, and two brigs, and carried troops deſtined for the relief of the brave garriſon. The ſhips of war were prevented from entering the harbour by the enemies batteries. The troops, to the number of 3,000, with a detachment of ſailors, were landed at different points as near Porto Ferrajo as poſſible. At the ſame inſtant the beſieged made a ſally, and got poſſeſſion of the battery, which, contributed, principally, to prevent the Engliſh ſquadron from entering the harbour. The Engliſh had advanced about a mile and a half from the beach, when the French General, Martin, ſeizing a favorable opportunity, attacked them with the

* The eldeſt ſon of the Duke of Parma, agreeably to the treaty of Luneville, was called to the throne of Tuſcany; and on July 26th, began to exerciſe the rights of ſovereignty.

bayonet: an attack was at the ſame time made by the Adjutant Commandant Sacklem, on the ſide of the city. The Engliſh, after an obſtinate engagement, was forced to retreat, and make, as well as they could, to their veſſels. The Engliſh frigates taking advantage of the moment, when the detachment from Porto Ferrajo became maſters of the French battery had entered the harbour; they were now under the neceſſity of retiring: one of them being diſmaſted, was towed off by a number of gunboats.

In the mean time an attack was alſo made by a party of the Engliſh on Marciana. This offenſive operation was covered with three ſhips, but it was unſucceſsful. Marciana was garriſoned principally by Poliſh troops, and the Engliſh were obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs. On this day near a thouſand of our men, including officers, were killed, wounded, or made priſoners. It was an unfortunate attempt, but not therefore an ill-planned one; War is as capricious in its decrees as Fortune, and ſucceſs is as frequently the reſult of accident, as of well concerted meaſures.

But the effect of this diſaſter was entirely done away by ſubſequent ſucceſſes. In the month of November, previouſly to the confirmation of peace between France and England, a deſperate ſally was made under the command of Mr. Grant, and after an obſtinate and ſanguinary combat, they not only took the outer intrenchments of the French camp, but the port of Madonna, della Grazia.

The iſland of Elba is eight miles long and two broad; part of it belonged to the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and part to the King of the Two Sicilies.

The Tuſcan part was ceded by the treaty of Luneville; and for what belonged to Naples, his Sicilian Majeſty received Piombino, a principality of Tuſcany.

We ſhall cloſe this chapter with adverting curſorily to the internal ſtate of Naples during this period. Great inſurrections prevailed both in Naples and Sardinia, ſo that many families of diſtinction removed to Rome. The malcontents were headed by a daring chief, called Manmone, who advanced to the frontiers of the Roman territories, and appeared reſolute to try his ſtrength againſt any troops that might be ſent to oppoſe him. In Sardinia, too, the ſame ſpirit of diſaffection and revolt manifeſted itſelf; there the inſurgents were under the command of an illiterate and ignorant ruffian who could neither read nor write: this bold adventurer conferred pretended honours on the moſt active of his followers, levied money on the country, and ſet a price on the head of thoſe who were inimical to him: nor was this hoſtile ſpirit of inſurrection broken, until France and England recognized and confirmed an eſtabliſhed order of affairs in Italy.

It is now time that we turn our attention to Egypt, where we ſhall behold Britiſh valour acquiring laurels that will never fade in the recollection of poſterity. The remembrance of this campaign, is ſtill cherished with enthuſiaſm, and a detailed account of its brilliant exploits cannot but be intereſting to every Britiſhman.

CHAPTER III.

General Obſervations.—Affairs in Egypt.—Claſſical Intereſt attached to the Country of Egypt, and Reflections excited by its preſent and former State.—A brief Account of its preſent Political and Phyſical Condition.—Origin of its Name.—Its Boundaries.—Upper and Lower Egypt.—Their Limits.—The Seven Branches of the Nile now reduced to Two.—Cauſe of the Brackiſh taſte of its Waters in the Branches of Roſetta and Damietta.—Cauſes of the Deſtruction of the Peluſiac Branch.—Origin of the Production of Lower Egypt.

THE treaty of Luneville ſhall be to us a ſort of rallying point, up to which we will bring our narrative of events; and, this being done, it will then ſerve as a point of departure, from which to proceed in our hiſtory. For this purpoſe we have already traced the principal events of Europe up to that epoch, from the period where we left off in our Fourth Volume; and we have now to reſume our account of the operations in Egypt.

In turning from Germany and Italy, where the Auſtrians, after various ſucceſſes, had retired beneath the ſhelter of a peace, to Egypt, how many emotions naturally throng to the boſom of an Engliſhman. On their burning ſhores the valour of our countrymen was diſplayed in a manner that will be looked back upon by our poſterity, with ſentiments of pride and exultation. An army enured to hardſhips, and particularly to thoſe of the climate of the Eaſt, fluſhed with recent ſucceſſes, and at any rate confident in their own proweſs, from the proſperous

iſſue of the French arms for nearly ten years of uninterrupted warfare; this was the army which an inferior number of Britiſh had to oppoſe, under the peculiar difficulties of landing in a hoſtile country. Our troops were neither inured to the climate, nor hardened by campaigns, but borne forward by the ſteady valour of true courage they proved to Europe, that when oppoſed, on equal terms, to a French army, they were inferior neither in diſcipline, perſeverance, nor bravery.

A campaign in every point of view ſo illuſtrious, and in a particular manner ſo intereſting to Engliſhmen, deſerves to be treated with amplitude: and our readers cannot but feel gratified by the correct and copious detail of theſe events which we are now about to lay before them.

There is, indeed, a local intereſt attached to Egypt, which forms another point of attraction in the preſent ſubject: its ſhores are venerable; every ſpot is connected with ſome great event of former times; the cradle of knowledge in the earlieſt periods of time, how has it degenerated! its relics of ancient ſplendour and magnificence; how they ſeem to heighten the contraſt, and what a leſſon do they read to man! Empires and ſtates, like the life of man, have their epochs of grandeur and decline; he would be pitied as deſtitute of feeling, who could behold, unmoved, the claſſic ſpots of Greece and Rome, a prey to ignorance, and brutality, and ſuperſtition; and the ſame ſentence may be extended to him who can remember the country of the Ptolemys in its preſent fallen ſtate, and not ſigh over its humiliation. At the name of Egypt, a thouſand recollections crowd into the mind. Paſſing over the earlieſt

periods, paſſing over the times of Cyrus and Cambyſes and Alexander, memory animates into temporary exiſtence thoſe events that have been embalmed to poſterity in the claſſic pages of the Roman authors: Antony and Cleopatra, Cæſar and Auguſtus, appear before us, and we identify them upon the ſame ſpots that have been ſo recently ſignaliſed by Britiſh valour. Strange revolutions of things! When theſe exploits were performing almoſt two thouſand years ago, Britain was a rude and ſavage land: the poet of Auguſtus exclaimed,

"Penitus toto diviſos orbe Britannos."

The ſoldiers of Cæſar trembled, as they thought of exploring its gloomy ſhores, and returning to Rome, they boaſted with greater enthuſiaſm of having braved its dark and ſullen coaſt, than of conquering whole armies. This country has now riſen to be the firſt among modern nations; and the deſcendants of its painted aborigines, have reaped laurels in the very ſame fields where their haughty oppreſſors triumphed when they were but ſavages. The philoſopher, as he contemplates theſe things, feels intenſely the periſhable nature of every thing that is earthly, and while he ſwells, with ſecret exultation, the ſplendid fortune of his native land at the preſent moment, he thinks with a ſigh, that the time will aſſuredly come when the traveller ſhall fall upon the boſom of the Thames, and aſk, "where ſtood London, the emporium of the world?" or he will wander amid her ruined palaces, and look back upon the preſent times, as among the wreck of things that were.

Previouſly to commencing our account of the military operations in Egypt, we preſume it will not be unacceptable to our readers if we offer them an ab-

ſtracted view of its preſent political, phyſical, and moral ſtate. The propriety of this will be the more evident when we conſider the favorite plans of Buonaparté upon this country, and the ſevere diſappointment he ſuffered in the fruſtration of them: it will ſerve alſo, to impreſs upon our readers a clearer idea of the ſcene of action, and enable them to comprehend ſeveral of the particulars of the campaign with more preciſion.

The name is derived from Ægyptus, brother of Danaus, and ſon of Belus; it is divided into Upper and Lower Egypt. The latter is that part which lies near the Mediterranean, the former towards the South. Upper Egypt was famous for the town of Thebes, but Lower Egypt was the moſt peopled, and contained the Delta a number of large iſlands, which, from their form, have been called after the fourth letter of the Greek alphabet. This country has been the mother of arts and ſciences. The greateſt part of Lower Egypt has been formed by the mud and ſand carried down by the Nile. The Egyptians reckoned themſelves the moſt ancient in the univerſe, but ſome authors make them of Ethiopian origin.

Modern Egypt has been deſcribed by various travellers; and Volney has given a faithful outline of the phyſical and political character of the country. But no writer has been led by his profeſſion, and peculiar ſituation, to conſider Egypt with a view to military operations, and an internal adminiſtration, connected with a ſtate of war. It cannot, however, be denied, that an acquaintance with theſe objects is neceſſary to the forming a juſt opinion of the military and political events of which it has recently

been the theatre. The particulars which we ſhall briefly communicate to our readers, have been collected not only from the moſt recent, but from the moſt authentic ſources, and principally from the work of Reynier, who, as an eye witneſs, and as a military man, is entitled to every conſideration.

Egypt is encloſed by natural barriers. Separated from Aſia by deſerts, a ſmall number of lower grounds, in which brackiſh water is found, are the only routes by which an army can approach on that ſide. The flat ſhore of Egypt on the Mediterranean, and the mouths of the Nile, embarraſſed with bars of ſand, afford only a few places proper to land troops. Bounded on the Weſt by immenſe deſerts, Egypt is ſubject, on that ſide only, to irruptions of the Arabs of Barbary. Separated from the Red Sea by a deſart, ſhe has little reaſon to dread an attack from that quarter, ſince the two ports of that ſea offer no reſource to an invading army, which could ſcarcely procure freſh water there, and muſt obtain from Egypt itſelf the proviſions and camels neceſſary to paſs the Deſart.

On each ſide of the Nile, in Higher Egypt, is a chain of barren mountains. The valley in which the river flows between theſe mountains, is from four to five leagues in breadth, and is covered with water at the periodical inundations of the Nile. This valley alone is cultivated and inhabited. The chain of mountains on the Eaſtern ſide, which ſeparates the Nile from the Red Sea, is of greater height than the Weſtern; it terminates towards the valley by precipices, which, in many places, have the appearance of a high and immenſe wall broken here and there by narrow valleys, formed by hidden and tem-

porary winter torrents, which ſerve for paths to paſs over theſe mountains. The Weſtern chain, which ſeparates the valley of the Nile from that of Ouaſis, generally declines in a gradual manner. Towards Siout, however, it is more abrupt; and from the angle, which the Nile forms near Heunh, it is ſteep, like the Eaſtern chain, till it reaches Sienna, where the mountains riſe ſtill higher, and leave only a narrow paſſage to the river.

In the neighbourhood of Cairo the diſtance between theſe two chains of mountains increaſes. The Eaſtern terminates towards the extremity of the Red Sea, without any appearance of connexion with the mountains of Arabia, which terminate in the ſame manner.

The manner in which the chain of mountains, on each coaſt of the Red Sea, terminates, and the low lands, which form a ſpecies of valley in the iſthmus of Suez; a valley incloſed on each ſide, with ſand-hills ſtretching to the foot of the mountains, particularly on the ſide of Aſia, would lead us to ſuppoſe that, in former times, there was a communication between the two ſeas by a ſtrait, ſince filled with ſands, brought thither by the oppoſing currents and the accumulation of mud of the Nile at the mouth of that river. Some extraordinary change, which has altered the level of the Mediteranean, (ſince that is twenty five feet lower than the Red Sea) may have contributed to the firſt formation of the iſthmus, which has, ſince, been greatly increaſed by the mud of the Nile.

But to return to the chains of mountains. The Weſtern one declines towards Fayoum, and near Cairo takes its direction to the North-weſt, and afterwards to the Weſt, where it forms the coaſt of the

Mediterranean. The rocks in the neighbourhood of Alexandria and Aboukir appear to be an iſland detached from this chain of mountains. In the ſpace which lies between theſe two chains and the ſea, is the plain of Lower Egypt, formed, in great part, of the depoſited earth of the Nile, by the branches of which river, and numerous canals cut for irrigation, it is interſected.

The ſeven branches by which the Nile formerly ſpread itſelf through the Delta to the ſea, are, at preſent, reduced to two principal branches—thoſe of Roſetta and Damietta; one or two canals, navigable only part of the year, are the only remains of the other branches. The Canal of Moez is the ancient Sanitic branch, and that of Achmoun the Mendeſian: their mouths are ſtill to be traced at Omfaredje and at Dibeh. The canals of Karineu and Tabanieh, which fall into the ſea at Bourlos, are the veſtiges of the ancient Sebennitic branch.

Fewer traces are found of the Peluſiac and Canopic branches, which, approaching each other near the Deſart, are widely ſeparated in the Delta.

The traces of the Peluſiac branch are, however, very diſtinct in the province of Chackich; and its mouth is at Tineh, near the ruins of Peluſium.

It is probable, that when the ſeven branches of the Nile exiſted together, they ſeverally contained nearly an equal body of water. The ſubſequent unequal diviſion of this fluid, canals cut, in all directions, to affect its equilibrium; canals whoſe channels were neglected, and other cauſes, having diminiſhed the body of water in one of theſe branches; the water naturally falling at its mouth, the ſea ruſhed in, drove back the freſh water and completely mingled with it.

The brackiſh quality of the water of this branch, after this revolution, deſtroyed the fertility of the land it overflowed, and compelled the cultivators to abandon it.

An ignorance of the cauſe of the ſterility of the land, or the intereſt of cantons more favoured and popular, have prevented the re-eſtabliſhment of the equilibrium of the water; and the preſervation of the canals has been neglected in proportion as the cultivators retired from their banks to more fertile parts of the country.

This effect is ſometimes obſerved in the branches of Roſetta and Damietta. The breach of a dyke, or other circumſtances, increaſing the body of water in one of the branches at the expenſe of the other, the ſea penetrates into that which falls in its level, impregnating the land with ſalt, and compelling the cultivator to deſert it; till, the equilibrium being eſtabliſhed, the freſh water imbues the land ſufficiently to reſtore its fertility.

Other cauſes have contributed to deſtroy the Peluſiac branch. The Croiſades, by burning and deſtroying the city of Peluſium, and other principal cities of that canton, drove the inhabitants from that frontier province expoſed to all the miſeries of war. The Peluſiac branch was no longer preſerved. The cultivators inhabiting other branches, eager to engroſs the waters of the Nile, diverted them to their own lands; and, the equilibrium thus deſtroyed, the ſea flowed into this branch. The lands, abandoned, and no longer irrigated with freſh water, were imbued with ſalt, and extenſive cantons became ſterile deſarts.

It cannot be doubted that Lower Egypt, in great part, owes its exiſtence to the accumulation of earth depoſited by the Nile. The agitated matter, which that river did not leave on its banks, muſt ſettle where the equilibrium of the contending motions of the river and the ſea produced a calm. The matter thus depoſited formed bars or ſandbanks, which the different movements of the water extended to the right and left. Increaſing ſucceſſively by the action of the winds and water, they, at length, formed the chains of ſandbanks which lie between the various mouths of the Nile.

CHAPTER IV.

PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL CHARACTER OF EGYPT CONTINUED.

Phyſical Obſervations on the Formation of the Land from the Mud of the Nile.—Lake Etko.—Lake Mareotis.—Period of the Inundation of the Nile.—Its Variations.—Difficulty of military Operations in Egypt.—Produce of the Soil.—Imports.—The great Abundance of Water.—Superior Nature of Slavery in Egypt.—Its Advantages as a Colony, and the chief Places for Depôts pointed out.—The Mamelukes.—Their Enmity to the Porte.—The Probability of their ultimate Extinction.—Advantages of ſuch an Event.

THESE ſandbanks would long remain ſeparated from the land accumulated from the direct depoſits of the river, by intervals or lakes formed by the influx of the ſea, although receiving the river water at the period of the inundation: but ſuch lakes muſt diminiſh in proportion as the growth of land, formed by the agitation of the river, filled up the channels by which the ſea entered.

As the mud of the river naturally firſt overflows the low grounds neareſt its bed, its banks would be the firſt to riſe above the level of the other land, the growth of land of depoſited mud would be ſlower in its progreſs in more diſtant parts; and hence there would remain lakes, towards the coaſts lying at the greateſt diſtance from the point where the Nile branches into ſeveral canals. Thus there have always been marſhes near Peluſium; and the bed of the Lake Marcotis continues to lie very low.

The land growing from the Nile tends naturally to fill theſe lakes, enlarge Lower Egypt, and gain on the ſea; the ſea oppoſes this tendency. The growth of land from the Nile is, perhaps, arrived at that point where it no longer gains in one quarter but by loſing in another. It has been obſerved that, for many centuries paſt, more land has been gained by the ſea than accumulated from the mud of the Nile. It is even to be foreſeen, that, if art does not direct the operations of nature, if the body of water is ſuffered to ſpread, and the beds of the principal branches of the river to be enlarged, and the equilibrium of water at the mouths of the river neglected, the ſea will gain new lands from the cultivators inſtead of yielding any. This is, in truth, the fate that menaces Egypt, if that country remains in the hands of an ignorant people.

It has been before obſerved, that when a diminution of water in one of the branches of the river permits an influx of the ſea into its channel, the ſalt water ſpreads over the low grounds and into the lakes bordering on the river. Sometimes, aided by ſtorms on the coaſt, the ſea water extends beyond the boundaries of the lakes, overflows the land which (having accumulated from the depoſits of the Nile) ſeparates the lakes from the branches of the river, and compels the cultivator to abandon a territory rendered ſterile by theſe inundations.

By this proceſs may be explained the formation of the ſhallow and marſhy lakes which lie on the coaſts of Egypt. The largeſt of theſe, Lake Menzaleh, now covers a great part of the land formerly watered by the Peluſiac, Tanitic, and Mendeſian branches. Lake Bourlos is near the mouth of the ancient Se-

bennitic, and canals cut from the branch of Roſetta. Lake Maadieh is near the ancient Canopic mouth.

Lake Etko, a new lake, formed during the inundation of 1801, was occaſioned by the opening of the canal of Deirout, by the inconſiderate orders of General Menou. The water of the canal, ſpreading in a large body over the neighbouring low grounds, forced itſelf a paſſage, among the ſandhills, to the ſea. After the uſual inundation, when the level of the freſh water had fallen, the channel it had formed near *La Maiſon Quarrée* being no longer full, the ſea ruſhed in by that paſſage and formed a new lake.

Lake Mareotis was too far diſtant from the Nile to be filled with its mud. The canal cut to convey water to Alexandria, and, afterwards, the neglect to keep open the canals of Bahireh, which flow into the lake, diverted the waters of the Nile from the lake; and its communication with the ſea being choked up, the water of the lake evaporated: Lake Mareotis had, therefore, been dry for a long period; but there ſtill remained in its bed brackiſh mud and a moving ſand; and receiving the rain in winter, and ſmall quantities of the Nile, during the inundation, through the canals of Bahirem, it is marſhy during a great part of the year.

The Engliſh having cut the dyke of the canal of Alexandria*, which ſeparates the canal from Lake

* Reynier is of opinion that this operation entirely ſeparates Alexandria from the reſt of Egypt, and that the city being deprived of water will inevitably occaſion its ruin, if not ſpeedily repaired. "But" he adds, "is it to be expected that the Turks are in a condition to undertake ſo conſiderable a work without the aid of Europe? The

Madieh, that lake was again overflowed by the ſea. It extends through a valley parallel to the ſea, from which it is ſeparated only by a hill, whoſe breadth in ſome places is no more than five hundred toiſes; it ſtretches beyond the tower of the Arabs.

There are alſo a few lakes, formed by the ſuperfluous waters of the inundations of the Nile, which ſpreading over hollow places that have no outlet, are diſſipated afterwards only by evaporation. Such are the lakes of Fayoum, Grarak, Birket-el Hadji, Ouadi, Tomlat, and of thoſe named Krah, through which paſſes the canal of Suez. Theſe laſt receive the water of the Nile only when the inundation is very great.

Beſides the branches and principal canals before deſcribed, Lower Egypt is interſected by various canals of irrigation, cut from the grand branches. The waters of the inundation conveyed by theſe canals, and retained by dykes in ſeveral diſtricts, firſt of all water the higher ground, and, having ſucceſſively ſerved to fertilize many cantons, glide into the lakes or the ſea.

The ſwelling of the Nile begins in the ſummer ſolſtice and reaches its greateſt extent in the autumnal equinox; when, having diſplayed its grandeur for a few days, it begins to diminiſh: the waters of the inundation ſubſide more gradually than they roſe. At the winter ſolſtice the river is already low, but there ſtill remains water in the grand canals. At this period

Turkiſh government, which by its nature tends to deſtroy, inſtead of preſerving, great public works, cannot be ſuppoſed to apply itſelf with much vigor to remedy this evil or to make ſuch pecuniary ſacrifices as the labour would demand."

the land is put into a courſe of culture, and ſoon after the country is paſſable.

The large canals employed in irrigation begin to fill at the latter end of Auguſt, and the whole of Egypt is inundated in the beginning of September: the waters ſpread more or leſs rapidly according to the various cantons. Uſually the communications are again opened for foot paſſengers at the end of November, but the low grounds and the canals are then ſtill filled with water or mud. They dry up in December: at that period many of the principal canals are, however, ſtill impaſſable for troops and artillery, the water being too ſhallow for boats, and the bed of the canal too deep with mud to be forded. As bridges and roads are very rare in Egypt, and no route is formed for the principal points of communication, the Delta cannot conveniently be croſſed but in the months of January and February.

The riſe and fall of the Nile happen earlier or later by fifteen days, or, ſometimes, even a month; but it may be eſtabliſhed as a general rule, that Lower Egypt is paſſable, in a complete manner, only from the beginning of February to the end of Auguſt. None but the great branches at this time contain water, and on them may always be found boats for paſſage. The cantons which receive water only by cut canals, and after the higher lands have been inundated, are not paſſable till later: ſuch, for inſtance, is part of the province of Charkieh.

By this ſketch it will be ſeen that military operations are not practicable in Lower Egypt during more than ſeven months in the year. It is poſſible, indeed, during the other months, to march on the borders of the Defart; but the villages in that quar-

ter are little able to furniſh the proviſions neceſſary to an army wanting every thing, after the paſſage of the Deſart, and no communications can be kept open from thence with the villages of the interior during September, October, November, and December.

Thus, alſo, an army landing on the coaſt, and wiſhing at this period to commence operations in the interior of Egypt, could do ſo only by water. An enemy would, however, find advantages in arriving at this ſeaſon, if he was content to eſtabliſh himſelf on certain points of the coaſt, where he could with difficulty be attacked, while he combined the means of his campaign for the proper ſeaſon.

An army that had Egypt to defend would alſo be embarraſſed in its operations during the inundation. Part of its movements being made by water, they would be always tardy and difficult to execute. There are even points on the coaſt where forces could not be concentrated, if ſuddenly attacked, without the greateſt obſtacles.

Thus far we have followed Reynier's account without heſitation, becauſe, though his book is full of errors and wilful miſrepreſentations in the military details of the campaign, it is preſumable that, in delineating the phyſical ſtate of Egypt he could have no motive to lie. In what we have further to narrate upon theſe ſubjects we ſhall avail ourſelves of the labours of other writers, and thus be enabled to preſent to our readers the concentrated obſervations of different authorities; an advantage, the intereſt and value of which need not be enforced. Egypt indeed is now ſo connected with European politics that it muſt be an object of curioſity and

importance; and its fertility renders it a moſt valuable colony to any power, more eſpecially ſince the means of ſubſiſtence have not increaſed in Europe in proportion to the population.

The ground at preſent yields three crops; with care theſe crops might be made productive of, at leaſt, one-third more than their preſent quantity; even now, after affording ſubſiſtence to 3,000,000 of inhabitants, vaſt ſupplies are ſent to Arabia and Turkey. On an average, a crop of corn in Egypt yields from twenty-five to thirty meaſures for one; inſtances have occurred when one hundred and fifty times the ſeed ſown has been reaped! Barley, wheat, and rice grow almoſt ſpontaneouſly.

The ſugar-cane grows luxuriantly, and excellent ſugar is manufactured. The olive tree is to be found, and the coffee tree, with attention, might certainly be introduced; in ſhort, every thing which the wants and luxuries of Europe demand might here be cultivated. From her locality, Egypt would ſoon again recover, by commerce, conſiderable ſplendor, if a good government did but direct the reſources. Even under the Beys the revenue annually amounted to 1,500,000l. ſterling, and the French derived in addition ſufficient ſupplies in kind for their armies.

Africa ſends to Cairo, ivory, gold-duſt, gums, and ſlaves;* Arabia her ſpices, with the manufac-

* "The condition of a ſlave in Egypt," ſays Sir Robert Wilſon, from whoſe *Hiſtory of the Britiſh Expedition* ſome of the above particulars are derived, "is very different from the miſerable fate of thoſe tranſported into the American colonies. The miſery of the Nubian terminates the moment he becomes the property of a maſter. As a

tories of Perſia and India. Approached ſo nearly to Europe, Egypt muſt be conſidered as the natural emporium for the riches of three quarters of the world, and, in her own ſoil, could rival America in any of her productions.

Water is to be found almoſt everywhere throughout, on digging; and wells are already eſtabliſhed at the different parts of the road, which ſupplied ſeven thouſand ſouls, with nearly as many camels and oxen, in a very ſhort interval of time. If then induſtry, encouraged by the temptation of gain, were applied, what difficulty could there be in tranſporting merchandiſe from Coſſir to Cunei? Nor is this ſo very impracticable, when we conſider that Ruſſia carries on a trade equal to 800,000l. ſterling with China, although the capitals of the two Empires are diſtant from each other 6,378 miles, and a deſart of 400 miles lies between them.

Coſſir would be a better ſtation than Suez to form the depôt, although ſo much farther removed. The long continuance of contrary winds, and the dangerous navigation of the Red Sea, preſent many difficulties to the eſtabliſhment of a large port at Suez, and the want of water there ſeems an inſurmountable barrier, unleſs the ancient canal which united the Mediterranean and the Red Sea could again be reſtored, a work certainly not ſuperior to the genius

domeſtic he is even more favoured than any other, and with the Mamelukes riſes to dignity, as his qualifications entitle him. The females are admitted into the houſes, as ſervants to the favourite women, where they are treated with every kindneſs, and where the whip never lacerates at the irritation of petulance and capricious humour. Thus even Turks may teach Europeans humanity!"

and powers of the nineteenth century, but which could not be attempted in the infant ſtate of a colony.

There are no ſprings nearer to Suez than twelve miles, and thoſe are called Moſes' Wells, from the probable ſuppoſition that he allowed the Children of Iſrael to refreſh themſelves at them. Water is brought from hence and depoſited in tanks, which the inhabitants ſupply themſelves from only in times of great neceſſity.

The town of Suez itſelf is of no importance; a wall, built by the French, againſt the Arabs, with two batteries towards the ſea, and a two-gun battery, on a hill of ruins, about three hundred yards from the Cairo gate, are the only defences.

In a military point of view Egypt is of vaſt importance. The Ottoman Empire totters, and India muſt be terror-ſtruck if France ſhould be ever allowed the poſſeſſion.

Whenever ſhe then directed herſelf againſt the former power, thouſands would embrace her cauſe. Infatuated Turks would league themſelves with Greeks, as they did at Smyrna, when Buonaparté was expected, and where he would have arrived, if the extraordinary defence of Acre had not defeated his enterpriſe. The iſlands diſaffected, and too ſeverely oppreſſed, would with pleaſure hoiſt the ſtandard of revolt; and the Turkiſh Government, without the poſſibility of an effort, muſt be reduced to the neceſſity of accepting the ſevereſt conditions of the conqueror; for on his mercy their lives, as well as political exiſtence, would depend.

England, when ſhe undertook the expedition againſt Egypt, diſclaimed the intention of appropriating the

conquest to her possessions: and in this she not only acted with honour but with policy. A thirst for universal dominion leads to ultimate ruin; the enormous machine either falls from its own unwieldy bulk, or crumbles away, by silent mouldering, from inactivity and torpor. England, as the heart and centre of her possessions, will assuredly weaken herself in proportion as she extends her surface: the life-blood that animates a small body is deprived of its vitality when attempting to give nourishment to a larger. Our colonial possessions are already extensive, and though the advantages of some are evident, yet it may be doubted whether they are not, in their present state, partly prejudicial to the parent state. The advantages that might accrue from the possession of Egypt are as precarious as uncertain; and much money, and many lives might be exhausted to further a project, which, if completed, would produce no solid advantages to the country.

That the Turks are now to be considered as the absolute possessors of Egypt is scarcely disputable; the events which have recently taken place there form a new epoch in history.

The Porte had seen with jealousy the re-establishment of the Mameluke government, although the Ottoman faith had been pledged to the re-instatement of their sovereignty in every right and dignity. The Turks, from a recollection of the rebellious system of the Mamelukes, who had long endeavoured to throw off even the yoke of nominal dependence, altogether refusing the stipulated tributes, now wished to secure an undivided government, and by one effort remove these usurpers: a policy, which, under any other circumstances, would

have been ſanctioned by juſtice as well as prudence.

Refuged in Upper Egypt, the Mamelukes may carry on a petty predatory warfare againſt the Turks, but the inferiority of their numbers will not allow the ſuppoſition of an eventual ſucceſs. Nor ſhould Europe lament their fall: the government of the Mamelukes was unnatural and oppreſſive; their habits and cuſtoms degrading to manhood. The Turks certainly are a barbarous people, nor will Egypt gain any immediate advantage by the change: ſhe muſt continue to be the wretched victim of avaricious invaders.

The defence of Egypt, muſt, therefore, be conſidered as committed to the Turks, and the inquiry inſtituted, as to the beſt means which may be deviſed to render them capable of reſiſting a French invaſion.

Alexandria muſt always be conſidered as the key to Egypt, although inſulated by water and deſart from the cultivated country; ſince in that harbour alone ſecurity can be found for ſhipping, of any burthen, throughout the year.

It has already been obſerved, that Lower Egypt is practicable for military operations ſix or ſeven months in the year, from the latter end of February till the middle of Auguſt. Sometimes a paſſage is not open before the beginning of March. This time might prove advantageous to an enemy wiſhing to eſtabliſh himſelf on the coaſt, did not the tempeſtuous weather at that ſeaſon form a good defence. If not in poſſeſſion of Alexandria, no force could proceed by the Deſart to Cairo; a march which, in that caſe,

preſents obſtacles ſcarcely to be ſurmounted; as, during three months of the inundation, no communication could be had with the villages on its borders, and afterwards ſufficient ſubſiſtence could not be procured in them.

Protected thus by natural defences, and ſtrengthened by the cautions of art, Egypt would not be an eaſy conqueſt, or the proſpect of an attack require light conſideration by thoſe who were to be reſponſible for the ſucceſs. The Turks are better adapted to defend the country than the Mamelukes.

The hoſtility of the Turks to France offers a favourable moment for the completion of deſigns neceſſary to the intereſts of England and Turkey, who ought to form an inſeparable alliance; nor could ſuch meaſures be deemed otherwiſe than precautions of ſelf-defence, even by thoſe whoſe views were impeded by them. The friendſhip of Turkey is of ſuch importance to England, that every exertion ſhould be made, and ſome ſacrifices even not reſiſted, if they tend to prevent France from reſuming her influence in the Divan.

We muſt all lament that a country like Egypt, rich in treaſures, of fertility, and commerce, from the civilization of which the ſciences might derive the moſt important benefits, muſt, under the preſent poſture of affairs, be retained in ſlavery; but thoſe who would be doomed otherwiſe to form the colony, may find conſolation in the reflection, that their lives in that country would certainly have been wretched, from the miſery which pervades, and the diſeaſes which deſolate this land, otherwiſe ſo bountifully diſtinguiſhed by nature.

CHAPTER V.

The Inhabitants of Egypt, their Manners and Customs.

Population of Egypt.—The Bedouin Arabs.—Pillaging, a common Vice among them.—Their Opinion as to their hereditary Right over Egypt.—Singular Confederacies among them.—The Fellahs.—Their Manners and Cuſtoms.—The Mukhteſims.—The Population of the Cities a Mixture of various different Claſſes.—Religious Sects.—Their Fakirs.—Brief Sketch of the Power and Nature of the Mamelukes.—The peculiar Situation of Slaves in Egypt, who often become Beys, and ſometimes Sovereigns of Egypt.—Revenues of theſe People.—General Retroſpect of their political and moral State.

THE population of Egypt is compoſed of various nations and conditions of people, who, having features in common, are, nevertheleſs, diſtinguiſhed by their mode of life, manners, and political and religious codes. Iſlamiſm, which is the religion of the majority of the inhabitants, excludes the followers of every other worſhip from all political influence. Although tolerated by the law, theſe latter are reduced to a very abject ſtate, and are inceſſantly expoſed to the inſults of the haughty Muſſulman.

In Egypt may be diſcovered traces of the feudal ſyſtem, which appears inherent to the firſt degrees of civilization.

Theſe ſhades of character will be the more apparent, if we ſeparately examine the inhabitants of the Deſart, of the country, and the cities.

The Bedouin Arab, wandering in the Defart, feeding his herds, and living on their milk, gives us, at this very day, a picture of the lives of the ancient patriarchs; their manners, cuftoms, and mode of life are the fame. The country they inhabit, permitting of no other, they could not change. If certain authors had lived among thefe people, if they had ftudied men formed for this paftoral life, they would have fpared themfelves much declamation.

The Arab has a great veneration for old people; very extenfive are the limits which paternal authority has among them. The children remain under the dominion of the head of the family. When that becomes numerous, after many generations, it forms a tribe, of which the defcendants of the firft patriarch are the hereditary chiefs. Veftcd with the powers of government they become powerful and wealthy: they affume to be of a fuperior clafs, and ufurp a fpecies of feudal authority over the reft of the tribe.

The Sheiks repreſent the father of the family, and decide the differences of their children; but the more the family or tribe is extended the lefs are the fentences of the Sheik refpected. Quarrels arife; and man in this ftate, when he thinks himfelf injured, has recourfe to his perfonal ftrength.

There is no principle among the Arabs to unite the individuals and tribes in one general fociety. Their religion, which, as a common principle, ought to be a mean of union, produced that effect only during the fanatical impulfe given by Mahomet to his followers, and continued, under his immediate fucceffors, by a feries of aftonifhing conquefts, which conquefts afterwards changed the manners of thefe

people. Each tribe has its religious chief, who, in matters concerning the tribe, too important to be referred to the Sheik, decides according to the principles of the Koran. But these ministers of religion do not possess an influence powerful enough to suppress dissensions between tribes.

Quarrels among the Arabs are inveterate. Hereditary animosities occasion combats, mutual ravages, and assassinations eternally reviving, since blood must be answered with blood. Local circumstances, common interests, and like hatreds, sometimes unite, for a time, different tribes and families under one head; but the conclusion of the war that brings them together, and the division of spoils, break these temporary ties, no longer of force when the same dangers no longer press on the members of which the union was formed.

Enamoured of their independence, the Arabs despise the husbandman and the inhabitants of cities. They have a degree of fierceness of character, but not unmingled with elevated sentiments. It is even a question still to be resolved, if the dissimulation and treachery with which they are reproached, particularly in their individual and political relations with more civilized people, spring from their own manners, or result from their experience of the bad faith of civilized nations.

The qualities the Arabs hold in the highest estimation are frankness and courage. One of the greatest eulogiums they can give a man, is to say of him—that *he has but one tongue.* They have been but little accustomed to find that quality among the masters of Egypt.

No title is so noble in the eyes of these people as that of Father. As soon as an Arab has a son he changes his name for one which expresses that he is *father of this son.* That which the Arabs most desire is the increase of their family and tribe, because their power and influence increase in the same proportion. It is according to the number of children their wives bear that they honour them. Reduced to household cares and to tending their herds, the women have seldom any public influence. There are, however, examples of women who, from their reputation and talents, have succeeded their husbands in the office of Sheik.

To pillage is a passion inseparable from the Arabs. Their spoils are divided among the families by established regulations. Is this spirit of plunder inherent to their degree of civilization? is it the result of wars they make upon one another? or is it engendered by the jealousy which they bear towards the more civilized people, who inhabit the cultivated lands? These questions cannot easily be decided. The Arabs justify themselves by maintaining that pillage is a right of conquest: they regard what they seize as military trophies, and consider themselves in a state of eternal warfare with all who are not of their nation.

The Arabs consider themselves as masters of Egypt by right of conquest: the various tribes have divided among themselves the entire country, by provinces and jurisdictions, in which they respectively govern and have their particular territories. They regard the Fellahs as vassals, whose duty it is to cultivate the lands necessary to the subsistence of the Arabs, and pay a tribute for what they cultivate on their own account; while they, on their part, protect

the cultivators by their arms againſt hoſtile tribes. They preſerve all the pride of the conquering Arabs; treat with the government of Egypt as one ſovereign with another; and deem it unworthy of their grandeur to pay a fixed tribute, purchaſing their tranquillity by preſents conſecrated by cuſtom, and conſiſting chiefly of horſes and camels, but very rarely of money: they retreat into the Deſart rather than ſubmit entirely. Dreaded by the cultivators, and ſetting the government at defiance, in their rapid flights and rapid return, they equally compel the Fellahs to purchaſe their protection.

The title of Arab Sheik is highly venerated in Egypt. As ſoon as the Sheik of a village is ſufficiently rich to maintain an eſtabliſhment and a certain number of cavalry, he procures himſelf a genealogy which traces his deſcent from ſome Arab family, and takes the title of Sheik of Arab. If the quarrels and inveterate animoſity of the Arab tribes did not prevent their union, the Sheiks could aſſemble forty thouſand horſe, and would be maſters of Egypt: but their diſſenſions protect the country from their domination.

The Arab families who inhabit the villages, particularly the Aonarah, in Upper Egypt, appear to be deſcended from the conquerors of Egypt, under the ſucceſſors of Mahomet: the eſtabliſhment of other tribes is more modern. It is not eaſy to diſcover the epoch of their arrival, nor that of the diſtinction of their provinces. The old men of the tribes dwelling near the cultivated lands aſcribe their emigration to the 11th or 12th century. From the earlieſt times the Nile has attracted the inhabitants of the Deſart to its banks. On the ſide of Charkich

dwell the tribes that came from Arabia. The tribes from Barbary proceeded no further than Bahireh, which lies to the Weſt of the Nile: theſe are more warlike and better armed than the former.

Beſide alliances among tribes, there exiſts among the Arabs numerous confederacies or leagues, of which powerful Sheiks are the leaders. Every tribe and every family belongs to one of theſe confederacies, and thoſe who are of the ſame party reciprocally aid each other in war. When a quarrel ariſes between two tribes of the ſame league, that which is deſerted by the other members of the league, for the time, joins the oppoſite party.

Writers have not been able to trace the origin of theſe confederacies; they are very ancient and exiſt among all the nations of Arabs. In Lower Egypt one of theſe leagues is named *Sath* and the other *Haran*: in Syria their names are *Kiech* and *Yemani*. The families of Fellahs and the villages are attached to one or other of theſe leagues. The Beys, when they are divided into two great parties, ſtrengthen themſelves in their diſſenſions by an alliance with one or other of them. When the French army arrived in Egypt Ibrahim Bey was of the league called *Sath*, and Murad Bey of that called *Haran*. In general the *Sath* league was attached to the governor of Cairo.

The Arabs may be ſaid to form a frame in which the population of Egypt is incloſed: they conſtitute an empire within an empire.

The Fellahs, or cultivators of Egypt, have a great reſemblance in character to the Arabs, and are, probably, deſcended from a mixture of the firſt irruption of Arabs with the ancient inhabitants. They preſerve the ſame diſtinction of families, and thoſe that live

together in a village form a ſpecies of tribe. The animoſities between families or villages are as ſtrong as thoſe among the Arabs; but the extreme dependance of the Fellahs has robbed them of the loſty and independent temper of the Arab. The Fellahs vegetate under a feudal power, the more rigorous becauſe it is derided, and becauſe their oppreſſors form part of the government which ought to protect them. But, with all the diſadvantages of their ſituation, they endeavour inceſſantly to imitate the independence of the Arabs, and are proud of calling them anceſtors.

The Fellahs are bound by families to the lands they cultivate; their labour is the property of the *Mukhteſims*, or lords of villages, of whom I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Although the Fellahs cannot be ſold their condition is more wretched than abſolute ſlavery: they, indeed, poſſeſs and tranſmit to their children the land allotted to their families; but they cannot alienate them, and ſcarcely can let any part without the permiſſion of their lord. If, wearied out with oppreſſion, a Fellah quits his village, the *Mukhteſim* has the right to purſue and arreſt him. The hoſpitality practiſed by the Fellahs, in common with the Arabs, opens an aſylum to the fugitives in other villages, where they hire themſelves as labourers, and remain in ſafety, if the proprietor is not ſufficiently powerful to wreſt them from the place. They are alſo received and ſheltered among the Arabs.

The Fellahs who remain in a village partially deſerted by the cultivators are more unfortunate than the fugitives: they are compelled to ſupport all the labour and pay all the dues of the fugitives; and often, reduced to deſpair, they entirely abandon the village, and engage themſelves as domeſtics of the

Arabs of the Defart, if they can find no other fecure refuge. Many villages are to be feen wholly deferted, and the lands belonging to them uncultivated; the inhabitants taking this method to puniſh the exceſſive avidity of their lords.

The *Mukhteſims*, or proprietors of villages, may be compared to the feudal lords of Europe: they receive the greater part of the produce of the lands, which they afterwards divide into unequal proportions: the ſmaller, which bears the name of *Miri*, is the territorial impoſt due to the Grand Seignor; and the larger, known by the name of *Fazo*, of *Barani*, &c. they reſerve to themſelves. Beſides theſe rights, the *Mukhteſim*, like the feudal lord, has the immediate property of land, called *Oſipich*, which the Fellahs are compelled to cultivate *without* hire, in the manner of our ancient feudal duties.

The population of the cities is a mixture of various claſſes, extremely different in their origin, manners, and religion. The principal of theſe are the artiſans and merchants, (both of which claſſes are of various countries and worſhip;) the proprietors of eſtates who live on their revenues; the religious chiefs, and the principal military officers of the government.

The inhabitants of the great cities do not belong, like the Fellahs, to proprietors: they hold their houſes, gardens, &c. independant of any lord, and poſſeſs the right of ſelling them. The great cities, few in number, are, Cairo, Damietta, Roſetta, and Alexandria. Tenta is nearly in the ſame political ſituation with theſe cities; but that is a privilege which it derives from its being a territory appertaining to a moſque. Other cities are free from the

ſervices due to a proprietor; but their revenues are attached to the governors of provinces.

The diſtinction of families alſo prevails in the cities. The exerciſe of arts and trades is hereditary; the ſon imitating his father, and never improving upon his knowledge. If various families of the ſame religion exerciſe the ſame trade they form a corporation, which chooſes for its head the perſon among the old men who poſſeſſes the greateſt wealth and conſideration.

Every religion or ſect has its diſtinct quarter, and its chief. When, among the followers of a ſect, there are many families who exerciſe different occupations, it has more than one chief. The Copts form the moſt numerous claſs of Chriſtians in Egypt. The greater part of them live in the cities, where they are principally employed in the receipt of the taxes, and in managing the particular eſtates of the chiefs of the country. The only perſons of a little learning, and verſed in this ſpecies of employment, they have rendered themſelves neceſſary. Several of the Copts exerciſe the trades of maſons, carpenters, &c. in the towns. Others inhabit the villages, eſpecially in Upper Egypt, and cultivate the lands, being little diſtinguiſhed from the other Fellahs. The Chriſtians of Syria eſtabliſhed in Egypt trade with their own country, and undertake various financial operations. The Greeks, the greater part of whom carry on a commerce with their own country, exerciſe alſo ſeveral arts, and furniſh ſailors. The Jews are generally *ſerap*, or money-changers; ſome of them dealers in old clothes, and locksmiths. The prejudices which prevail againſt theſe people produce the ſame effect in every country.

The European merchants eſtabliſhed in Egypt are all compriſed under the general denomination of Franks: they have their particular quarter in Cairo, and enjoy ſome privileges, although haraſſed with a multitude of exactions.

The merchants and artiſans, of whatever worſhip, are not much more happy in their condition than the Fellahs; they are borne down by a tyrannical and deſtructive government. A great part of their gain is ſwallowed up by impoſts, multiplied in various forms; and arbitrary exactions reduce them to poverty as ſoon as they appear to be in eaſy circumſtances.

Every claſs of inhabitants is permitted to enter the career of prieſthood. The firſt part of their education is confined to the learning and reciting a few prayers and paſſages of the Koran, and afterwards to read and write. Thoſe whoſe views are more extenſive, perfect themſelves in reading and writing, and ſtudy the commentaries of the Koran, written by the ſect they have embraced: this includes all the ſcience neceſſary to be admitted to the prieſthood. The greater part of the Imans, and aſſiſtant prieſts of the moſques, have made no further progreſs. Submiſſion to the higher prieſts, religious practices, the art of impoſing on the multitude by exterior forms, and the affectation of a language abounding in maxims, prepare their way to the higheſt employments. The principal chiefs of religion, called in Egypt Sheiks of the Law, are characterized by the policy common to the prieſts of every country; who, the more eaſily to govern, endeavour by artifices to gain the aſcendency over men. Their converſation abounds with fine moral

ſentences, and grand poetic images, borrowed from the Arabian writers; in this conſiſts their whole knowledge. It is in vain to ſeek among them any acquaintance with political or any other ſcience; they as little ſuſpect the exiſtence of ſuch as their utility.

Under the humble title of ſakir, (poor) and diſtributors of alms, they enjoy large revenues, dedicated to the maintenance of moſques and other pious foundations. Theſe revenues conſiſt of villages and lands given by the ſovereigns of Egypt, or individuals, and of certain duties upon conſumption. They have been augmented by another cauſe. Perſons of property, fearing that the government, after their death, would ſeize upon the ſucceſſion, to ſecure it to their children, give it to moſques, with the reſerve of rents payable to their poſterity; theſe foundations are named *Riſaks*.

The religious Sheiks poſſeſs a great moral influence over the people; and the moſt deſpotic governors of provinces are compelled to pay homage to them. Mahomet impreſſed on his people the opinion that the Koran contained all precepts, religious and ſocial. The interpretators and commentators on that book became the chiefs of ſects, have tranſmitted their opinions to their ſucceſſors; and the ſame ſtudies lead at once to the offices of juriſprudence and religion. The ſame individuals paſs from one to the other; and ſometimes fill offices of both kinds together; both have the title of *Uſchma*.

The body of Mamelukes, whoſe organization is totally different from the inſtitutions of Europe, has been faithfully delineated by Volney; and part of

their revolutions has been developed by the same author. We shall give our readers a general idea of the character of this extraordinary body.

It is a most singular phœnomenon to see, in the neighbourhood of the Arabs, fiercely attached to the distinction of ranks transmitted by their ancestors, a numerous class, who venerate only the purchased slave, whose parents are unknown, and, who, from slavery is raised to the highest dignities. This sentiment prevails also throughout Turkey; and even at Constantinople, in the heart of the government, whose principle it is to preserve the race of Osman, and where there are families of great antiquity, and very high consideration.

In a military and feudal government the custom of forming slaves to fill the highest employments could alone ward off the dangers naturally resulting from the aggrandisement of the principal families. While Europe lay under the feudal yoke, the proprietors of great fiefs contended for authority with their sovereigns, and anarchy prevailed in almost every state. The custom of governing by slaves has probably prolonged the race of Osman. Slaves, elevated to the government of provinces, have rarely had a posterity which could follow their example, and maintain their new rank; and, after the death of the usurper, the province returned naturally into the old order of things. No great family could raise itself to a consistency of power to dispute the government with the reigning family, or even to occasion a division of the empire. Egypt is the only province, which, from its distance from the centre of government, and its political organization, has formed an exception. The Ottoman government

has ſhown more wiſdom in its maxims than the chiefs of Egypt; for, while the ſovereign employed ſlaves, he foreſaw the danger of being ſurrounded with an armed body, always eager for power, diſpoſed to ſeize it by violence, and ready tools in the hands of the ambitious.

Mamelukes, whom the Fatimite Caliphs had bought to form their guard, in the end ſeized on the government. The chiefs of theſe Mamelukes tranſmitted their power to their children; but the deſcendants of Sa-lak-ed-din, declining into voluptuouſneſs and effeminacy, increaſed their guards like the caliphs, and in like manner were diſpoſed. The Mamelukes then no longer continued to have hereditary chiefs; violence or choice decided who ſhould take the government. The death of the ruling Mameluke was followed by new troubles, till the contending parties agreed upon a chief, or divided the country among them.

Selim II. ſeized upon one of thoſe moments of diſſenſion to attack the Mamelukes, allying himſelf to one of the parties, which he permitted to ſhare in the power of the government. They not only conſtituted a member of the permanent military force, but ſhared in the exerciſe of the civil power. Beys, choſen among them jointly, by the chiefs of Copts of the Pacha, were charged with the police of provinces, admitted into the divan; and became a balance to the authority of the Pacha. The great officers of government, ambitious to augment their power, bought Mamelukes. Ibrahim Kiaya, maſter of the largeſt number of Mamelukes, and attaching to his perſon and intereſt the proprietors of others, aggrandized himſelf by their means, and ruled Egypt.

After his death, the ſeveral beys to whom he had entruſted authority attempted to continue it; but Aly Bey, ſuperior in talents and character to the reſt, gained the aſcendancy, and became maſter of Egypt. The Porte indeed re-eſtabliſhed a pacha, but the Mamelukes, accuſtomed to govern Egypt, left him only the enſigns of authority.

All the Mamelukes bought by a chief, and even by any of his freed men, are regarded as part of his family, and give him the name of Father; this forms the great feature of the inſtitution of the Mamelukes. He, who, gaining aſcendancy among them, preſerves it long enough to purchaſe a number of ſlaves, and, ſucceſſively, to aggrandize them alſo, becomes the chief of a new houſe. The freedmen, and ſlaves of the ſame maſter, conſider each other as brothers; but, on the death of their maſter, thoſe of the greateſt authority are often divided by their perſonal intereſts. The favour they have enjoyed during their maſter's life, determines the quantity of their wealth and power. When one has acquired the principal influence, ſuch of his brethren as are unable to diſpute the authority with him acknowledge him for chief. When ſeveral are equal in force at the death of their maſter, they make war with each other, till one overpowers the reſt, or they conſent to a diviſion of authority among them.

All the preſent Mamelukes are of the houſe of Ibrahim Kiaya. Ali Bey, and Mahammed Bey Aboudahab, long contended for authority, and enjoyed it ſucceſſively. The houſe of Ali Bey exiſts ſtill in the Mamelukes of Haſſan Bey, and of Oſman Bey Haſſan, who, on the arrival of the French

in Egypt, were refugees in Jair. Ibrahim Bey and Mourad Bey, who were the principal slaves of Mahammed Bey Abondahab, concluded their long quarrels by agreeing to govern Egypt between them; since which they have formed two new houses.

Turkish merchants carry slaves from Constantinople to Egypt; they are selected from six to seventeen years of age. Purchased by the Beys, the Miachefs, or the Mukhtefims, during their childhood they are employed in the various services of their master's establishment, but their education is entirely military: it is this which gives them the address, the strength, the ductility of limbs, by which they are distinguished in athletic exercises, horsemanship, and the use of arms. When they are sufficiently strong and practised in arms, they are removed into the master's cavalry; and, being employed in expeditions, according as they happen to inspire his affections, are removed into the troops more immediately about his person.

When, as a recompense for services, a master gives freedom to a slave, the freed man quits his house, receives lands from him, and sometimes one of his slaves in marriage. He then acquires the right of purchasing the Mamelukes, and is no longer employed in the services of his patron's household, but is always ready to obey him, and follow him to war. Permission to let their beard grow is the exterior sign of liberty.

Although the number of Kiachefs is fixed, and they ought to be chosen by the body of Beys, subject to the confirmation of the Pacha, the powerful Beys raise their dependants to this rank, and com-

pel the other Beys to acknowledge them for Kiachefs. The twenty-four Beys were formerly chofen among the Kiachefs, who, on the deceafe of a Bey, prefented one of their number for the vacancy to the Pacha, whofe office it was to confirm him. This had, latterly, degenerated into a mere form, and the chiefs of the moft powerful houfe appointed Beys from his family: Murad and Ibrahim, when they divided the government, agreed to have an equal number of Beys.

A great career is therefore always open to the ambition of the Mamelukes. From flaves, they become Beys, chiefs of houfes, and even fovereigns of Egypt. Their means of promotion are attachment, zeal, and obedience, ftrength, and addrefs in military exercifes, and bravery in arms; by thefe they obtain the favour of their maflers, wealth and liberty. Raifed to the rank of Kiachefs, it is open to them to obtain the government of provinces, or to head expeditions, in which they ufually compel the Fellahs and Arabs to ferve them: thenceforth they accumulate wealth to purchafe and maintain a number of flaves. The confideration they hence obtain, the fear they infpire by an impofing military force and riches, lead them forward to the greateft employments.

Befides the Mamelukes, who never ferve on foot, the Beys and the government have an eftablifhment of infantry. Steady to the Turkifh policy of rarely giving any military authority to the natives of the country, thefe foldiers, few in number, were men from Albania and the Weft of Barbary; they were employed, under the orders of the Mamelukes, to guard the cities, and maintain the police

of the villages of the Beys, by whom they were kept in pay.

The Pacha ſent from Conſtantinople was, in name, the head of the government of Egypt; but the Beys, in poſſeſſion of all authority, left him no more than the enſigns of dignity. I ſhall not, therefore, enter into any obſervations reſpecting this officer, nor of the officers and effendis ſent by the Porte to controul accounts, which the Beys uniformly compelled them to ſettle in ſuch a manner, that there was no tribute to ſend to Conſtantinople.

The revenues of the Mamelukes, were compoſed of ſuch as were their own particular property, and thoſe of the government.

Their particular revenues were ſuch of the villages as belonged to the Beys, Kiachefs, and Mamelukes, as Mukhteſims; the various duties they received in their governments, and their arbitrary fines, forced preſents, and other extortions. The Copts have always had the addreſs to render themſelves neceſſary to the proprietors. Every Mukhteſim employed one for each village, who kept the rolls of contributions, and received them in his name. When a Bey was proprietor of ſeveral villages, he placed a Copt at the head of all the others, who was at once his ſteward and ſecretary; and this Copt indemnified himſelf in his ſubalterns and the Fellahs for the humiliations he was condemned to endure from his employer.

If the Mamelukes leave few children, it is not the ſame with the other inhabitants of Egypt, particularly the Fellahs; although few of them are rich enough to avail themſelves of the law authoriſing polygamy, and the women do not live long, the

Fellahs all have a great number of children: without this fecundity the plague would almoſt deſtroy the population of Egypt.

Having no documents of the population of the lands and villages it is difficult to give a tolerable eſtimate of it: the whole population of Egypt, may, however, be ſtated at two millions five hundred thouſand, or, at the moſt, three millions; including the city of Cairo, which contains from two hundred and fifty thouſand to three hundred thouſand inhabitants.

From the Bedouin Arab to the principal officers of government, power and riches are the only roads to authority, and, therefore, the only objects of ambition. All are indifferent to the means of acquiring wealth: every one is eager to attach to his perſon men devoted to his intereſt, whoſe courage and addreſs he may employ to his advantage. The Beys and Mukhteſims purchaſe white ſlaves and ſometimes black, the Arabs negro ſlaves: each aſſembles around him a little army, more or leſs formidable, and, when he thinks himſelf ſtrong enough, makes war on his rivals or oppreſſors. When there does not exiſt in the government a power capable of overawing theſe various and jealous forces, anarchy has the ſole ſway, and the ſpirit of faction and hereditary hatreds ally themſelves to the ſubjects of quarrels, which ariſe daily.

The cultivator is almoſt always preſſed into theſe quarrels; he has alſo quarrels that are proper to himſelf: but, in whatever manner either one or the other ends, the produce of his harveſt ſerves always to ſupport the combatants: he muſt provide for the profuſion of the chiefs, to augment their power, which re-

coils on himſelf: and, in every caſe, he is only the miſerable inſtrument of their enjoyments. Regulated in his conduct rather by the caprices of powerful men than by acknowledged laws, he his ever uncertain whom to obey, the government of Conſtantinople, the Beys, the Mukhteſims, or the Arab Sheiks. Obliged to pacify them all, he executes the orders of him whoſe vengeance he at that moment dreads; and hence ariſes the cuſtom of every year taking the field to enforce the contributions. Moral qualities and information lead to no office in Egypt; procuring but a very ſlight conſideration and no riches, there is little that invites to their cultivation. The whole ſtudy in Egypt is that of diſſimulation, the natural arm of the ambitious when they are weak: to diſſemble is equally the fate of all claſſes of the people, and the baſis of government.

Vague laws, the venality of the judges, the abſence of a force deſtined to purſue and puniſh the guilty, the aſylums ever kept open by hoſpitality, induce the government to puniſh a family, a corporation, a village, for the crime of one man, often a fugitive, but oftener unknown. The government adopts the cuſtom of the Arabs, to extend vengeance from an individual to entire families. The territory of whole tribes is over-run to extort a compenſation for robberies committed within their boundaries. Under a feudal government, the habits of puniſhing an entire claſs for the crimes of an individual, has at leaſt, however, the advantage to intereſt individuals to watch over each others conduct. The aſylums of hoſpitality form a reſource to all the inhabitants againſt oppreſſion. It is not from a ſpirit of order and juſtice that the govern-

ment, little ſuſceptible of theſe moral ſentiments, purſues the guilty or endeavours to terminate quarrels; it is, that the cultivation of lands, the harveſts, and the receipt of contributions, ſuffer from theſe quarrels, and that accommodations are always paid for with preſents and compenſations.

CHAPTER VI.

Resumption of the Egyptian Affairs.—Treaty of El Arisch, and its Rupture.—Character of Menou, and his Attempts to blacken the Memory of Kleber.—The magnanimous Conduct of Kleber with regard to Buonaparté.—The Proceedings of Menou give general Disgust.—His Character.—His unjust Removal of General Dumas.—Menou endeavours to form a Party, but failing, he seeks to become popular.—Squanders the Money in idle Expenses.—Remarks upon this Subject.—Sources of the French Revenue in Egypt.

OUR readers will recollect where we left off in our history of the affairs of Egypt; nor will they forget the resentment and petulant reproaches made towards us by the French, in consequence of the non-ratification of the treaty of El Arisch. This was an event, the justice or injustice of which remains, and probably must remain, a mystery. One thing, however, may be said in its justification, the instructions which were sent out to Lord Keith were dated December 1799: the treaty of El Arisch was signed January 28, 1800. The English ministry cannot, therefore, be accused of prevarication in the first instance: Lord Keith acted according to his orders, and Kleber, considering the intimation of Lord Keith as decisive, prepared immediately for the renewal of hostilities. It will not, however, be easy to vindicate the faith of the ministry in their subsequent conduct; the treaty being signed they were bound to ratify it, and not resort to the poor subterfuge that Sir

Sidney Smith had no official powers to conclude it. This was an artifice unworthy the Engliſh nation, and, as ſuch, juſtly reprobated by the French and the whole continent.

The firſt conſequence of this rupture was the victory of Heliopolis, which has already been detailed in the Fourth Volume, as well as the aſſaſſination of the brave Kleber. It now, therefore, remains to take a rapid view of the affairs of the French under the command of Menou till the appearance of the Engliſh on the coaſt of Egypt.

There was nothing which excited more general indignation in the French army than the daſtardly attempts which were made by Menou to tarniſh and degrade the glory of Kleber. Kleber was adored by the ſoldiery, more even than Buonaparté: they had not forgotten his magnanimous conduct with regard to the latter, when he left him to conduct the perilous war to a concluſion, without money, or any reſources neceſſary to an army in a foreign country. Kleber had the glory of France at his heart, and he loved the ſervice he was engaged in too well to riſk its diſgrace by damping the ſpirits of his men: he became, therefore, voluntarily, the apologiſt of Buonaparté, and huſhed the indignant feelings of his own breaſt that he might not awaken thoſe of his army. This was a noble trait of character, which reflects an enviable luſtre on his name; it was not forgotten by the French; and they execrated the meanneſs of Menou, who ſtrove, by a thouſand dirty acts, to caſt a ſhade of opprobrium upon the much loved memory of the man he had ſucceeded. How unlike the nobleneſs of a great mind! When Julius Cæſar beheld the head of Pompey, his rival for do-

minion, he wept; a homage that dignified at once the giver and receiver.

General Menou, in fact, rendered himself equally unpopular to the men and to the generals. His conduct was often tyrannical and capricious; and this disgusted those officers who felt themselves his equal in military science. It is a dangerous thing when a commander in chief alienates the affections of his generals: the soldiery may be disgusted with their head, yet allegiance to their immediate commanders will keep them faithful; but when these are disaffected, there is then no bond subsisting to check the most alarming dissensions. One of those arbitrary measures which Menou indulged in, was, the displacing General Dumas from his station, and this was done without the least reason being assigned for it. General Dumas was astonished: he wrote to Menou, expressing his total ignorance of what cause he could have for a step so strange and unprecedented; he urged also, that it was incumbent on Menou to wait for dispatches from his government, unless he had charges against him weighty enough to authorise a court martial. To this remonstrance he received no answer, and Menou even refused to see him.

General Reynier, and General Friant, justly apprehensive that such a step might produce the most alarming consequences in their present critical situation, waited upon Menou, to discourse with him upon the business. Nothing, however, was to be done; and if any thing could aggravate the baseness of the transaction, it was the reasons which Menou chose to assign for it: *he felt an incompatibility in their dispositions; he could not transact business with Gen. ral*

Dumas; he proteſted, on his honour, that no perſonal animoſity influenced his conduct. This was ſurely adding inſult to oppreſſion: this was the excuſe of a child, who throws away a toy becauſe he is tired of it. What ſecurity is there for the very exiſtence of an army, if its chief wantonly diſplace meritorious officers from "incompatibility of temper?" How like a prating gentlewoman is ſuch jargon!

Reynier, however, forbore to preſs the matter further, becauſe Menou, very cavalierly, offered to reſign his command. He ſeemed, indeed, to ſport not only with the feelings of individuals, but, likewiſe, with the ſafety of the whole army, placing their entire welfare and the ſucceſs of their arms as mere foils, to his own wanton caprices. Reynier had always, from delicacy, forborne to repreſent to Menou that, commanding the army only *ad interim*, (for his authority had not yet been ſanctioned by the French government,) it ill became him to make a change of ſuch magnitude, unleſs in a caſe of the moſt urgent neceſſity. He begged, however, that he would explain himſelf to Dumas, and to make up the breach if poſſible, either by continuing him in his ſtation or removing him to ſome other ſuitable command. Dumas, who was far from wiſhing to create embarraſſment or diſſenſion, retired from the ſtation of chief of the ſtaff, and accepted the command of the provinces of Beniſouef and Fayoum: the order of the day announced his retreat, and contained eulogiums on his conduct. His ſucceſſor was General Le Grange; but Menou only appeared to repoſe confidence in him, for he tranſacted himſelf even the minuteſt duties of the ſtation.

It now became daily more evident that Menou purpoſed to form a party; but in this he failed; and

finding, that although the moſt perfect diſcipline prevailed in the army, the greater part of the officers and corps were diſſatisfied with him, he reſolved to make himſelf popular. Accordingly, on the 23d September, he made ſix new generals of brigade and filled up all the vacancies in the army. Some of the officers, preferring to remain with their own corps rather than be advanced, refuſed the promotion; but they were compelled to accept their new rank. It was evident that in doing this Menou was actuated by political fineſſe; for though the perſons whom he advanced were men that deſerved that reward for eminent ſervices; yet Menou was leſs anxious, in reality, to remunerate talent than to cruſh envy: he whiſpered to himſelf, that by beſtowing favours he ſhould, in effect, deſtroy any lurking enmity towards himſelf; or, at leaſt, ſhould thoſe very perſons whom he had thus diſtinguiſhed prove afterwards in any way obnoxious to his views, it would be no difficult matter to fix the popular odium on them, as ungrateful beings, who repaid kindneſs by treachery. He well knew the readineſs with which the human feelings riſe up againſt ingratitude; and, therefore, by loading thoſe whom he ſuſpected with benefits, he, at leaſt, rendered them, if not active friends, negative enemies. There were, indeed, no arts of diſſimulation to which this man did not deſcend: he even employed ſpies in the army, tale-bearers, to fetch and carry petty converſations for their maſter! What ſtronger proof need be adduced of inſincerity of conduct, of inward condemnation and irreſolute feelings, than this? How unlike the great man who had led the French army to the ſhores of Egypt! how unlike the generous, manly Kleber!

The ſame ſelf-determination, which invariably characterized all the actions of General Menou, was equally conſpicuous in his civil adminiſtration: it had, indeed, a worthier object—the *comforts* of the army, and it was conducted with the moſt perfect ſelf-diſintereſtedneſs; ſtill, however, it was impolitic to waſte the reſources on temporary, and often needleſs objects. The finances, to an invading army, eſpecially to an army ſituated like the French, at an immenſe diſtance from their country, with no means of conveying ſupplies over-land, and the paſſage by ſea expoſed to imminent, and almoſt certain dangers, from the vaſt ſuperiority of our navy; the finances to ſuch an army were of the utmoſt and moſt ſerious importance, and any thing like a heedleſs ſquandering of them was criminal. To rely upon forced contributions in a hoſtile country was precarious in the extreme: and money, which is, in modern times, the ſinews of war, ſhould have been huſbanded, as of precious moment: this, however, Menou did not do to the extent he ought; and hence flowed another ſource of embarraſſment and difficulty to the army.

At the time of Kleber's aſſaſſination part of the contribution in money, impoſed upon the inhabitants of Cairo, and the whole of the contributions in merchandiſe, remained unpaid; theſe were, however, afterwards, collected by Menou, together with part of the ordinary territorial impoſts. The pay of the troops was ordered to be diſcharged regularly and without deduction, and the greater part of the arrears paid up; funds were aſſigned for the fortifications, and the engineers of the bridges and highways received *more* than was ſufficient to continue the demolitions neceſſary to the defence of Cairo and to add ſome embelliſhments

to the town. Grants, bounties, an augmentation of indemnity for ratios, various uſeleſs expenſes, and the immenſe number of French and Turks employed in the various provinces of the adminiſtration, the conſequence of a ſyſtem too much complicated, by degrees raiſed the expenditure of the army to ſeventeen or eighteen hundred thouſand francs per month; although every change was announced as intending to reduce the expenſes of Kleber's adminiſtration, which did not exceeed thirteen or fourteen hundred thouſand francs! This is another inſtance of the determined hoſtility with which Menou purſued the memory of Kleber.

Very large receipts, the produce of the new duties, were announced in the orders of the day, in which General Menou alſo inceſſantly repeated his engagement to maintain the full payment of the troops; yet, in about three months, all the funds were expended! The duties on merchandiſe, as yet, produced little; the territorial impoſts could not be collected till after the inundation: in a ſhort time money was wanting. The Copts were ordered to furniſh a forced loan, for which, at firſt, they were promiſed a mortgage on the contributions in arrear; and that ſecurity would have produced more if it had been put in effect. The firſt money gone, new wants ſucceeded; and the Copts furniſhed a ſecond loan. It might be prudent, no doubt, to make them regorge part of their plunder: but General Kleber regarded the Copts as a reſerve for moments of great embarraſſment; and, in effect, during the ſiege of Cairo, he procured from them all the money he wanted.

The reports of Citizen Eſteve, and other perſons

charged with the direction of the various branches of the administration, points out with precision the revenues which the French army might have drawn from Egypt in time of war.

	Francs
The territorial impost, after Murad Bey occupied Said, could not be taken higher than twelve millions, including the impolitic imposts on the Sheiks, which the French were afterwards compelled to receive as advances on account of the ordinary imposts	12,000,000
The various indirect duties were farmed at about three millions; but the farmers sustaining losses, it would be necessary to grant them a reduction, at least till commerce should revive	3,000,000
The duties on corporations and national bodies were fixed, by an ordinance, at two millions, but ought to be reduced: by means, however, of various vexations, these duties might produce	2,000,000
The mint of Cairo, and the duties for stamping gold and silver articles produced, at the most	500,000
The customs might produce, in time of war, if the commerce with Arabia and the Greeks were encouraged, one million; peace would increase this revenue to many millions	1,000,000
The *ouffiehs* and the national domains....	1,500,000
The *miri* of the proprietors and the tribute of Murad Bey	1,000,000
Total ...	21,000,000

The contributions in kind would be sufficient for the ordinary consumption of the army and to form magazines of reserve.

The ſum total of the revenues of Egypt might, herefore, amount to 21,000,000 francs per annum, or 1,750,000 francs per month. But the collection of theſe revennes depended on the internal tranquillity of the country, which various cauſes might diſturb. An attack, or even the menacing attitude of an enemy, by compelling the troops to concentrate, would entirely ſuſpend the receipts; for throughout the Eaſt, as well as in every hoſtile country, it demands a military force to collect the contributions.

It was, therefore, an eſſential point to govern the expenditure by the greateſt œconomy; ſo that, if the ſources of revenue ſuddenly failed, there might always be a reſerve found for the wants of the army. But none of theſe conſiderations could check General Menou in the career of his innovations nor deter him from an augmentation of the expenditure: he eaſily perſuaded himſelf, with that overweening confidence which marked his character, that nothing, foreign or internal, could diſturb the tranquillity of the country.

CHAPTER VII.

Neceſſity of a clear and lucid View of the preciſe State of the French in Egypt previous to the Engliſh landing there.—Cauſes of the Succeſs of the Britiſh Arms allowed by our own Writers.—The Innovations of General Menou. The Diſcontents of the Officers ſo high that they propoſe to ſuperſede and try him.—A Number of the French Generals wait upon him with Remonſtrances.—He promiſes to attend to them.—Reaſons for not complying immediately. —Funeral Honours rendered to General Deſaix in Egypt, and the diſingenuous Conduct of Menou upon that Occaſion.—Menou receives his Brevet of Commander in Chief.

IN order thoroughly to comprehend the cauſes of thoſe ſucceſſes which the Engliſh gained in Egypt, under multiplied diſadvantages, it is neceſſary that we ſhould have a correct idea of the ſtate of the French army, its reſources, and the talents and character of its chief: for though it is unanimouſly confeſſed that Britiſh valour was never more ſignally diſplayed than during that campaign, yet it is no leſs certain that the ſubſequent ſucceſs aroſe partly from the miſconduct of our enemies: our own writers on the ſubject allow, that had Menou acted with that effective judgment which was expected, the probability of our finally triumphing would have been highly problematical. It muſt be remembered, that a primary inducement with the Britiſh miniſtry for ſending an army, and ſo ſmall an army, into Egypt, was the information they had gained from the Intercepted Letters from that country: by them it appeared, that the French were in a moſt deplorable condition, without

funds, without resources, and almost without a leader; dissensions in the army, and a want of unanimity among the generals! hence it was concluded that their entire expulsion from Egypt would be a matter of no difficulty. But these relations were greatly exaggerated; and the English army, when they arrived there, found their antagonists in a state well calculated to dispute the point with a much larger force than was now brought against them: they were not, however, dismayed, though they could entertain but few rational hopes of ultimate success: they advanced; the enemy actually made those very dispositions which Sir Ralph Abercrombie himself would have dictated could he have influenced the decisions of Menou! Such advantages, seconded by the bravery of our troops and the judgment of their commanders, led to those happy results, which are well known and enthusiastically remembered.

To explain, therefore, the apparent inconsistencies of these events, and to advance the real dignity of meritorious services by stripping them of all false honours, we have thought it requisite to shew thus far the condition of the French army; and we shall now add a few more particulars of its operations and situation, between the assassination of Kleber and the landing of the English.

The innovations of General Menou; his conduct towards various individuals; the childish declamations, the lessons of morals and probity, so often repeated in the orders of the day, which had the appearance of being addressed to an army profligate and without honour, raised an almost universal discontent. The inhabitants, terrified with such incessant innova-

tions, complained that a *muſſulman general*, from whom they had reaſon to expect ſo much, compelled them to regret the loſs of a Chriſtian general!* They were accuſtomed, under the government of the Turks and Mamelukes, to endure all the caprices of their maſters, and they would willingly have endured as much from Menou; but their experience had taught them the mildneſs of European manners: Buonaparté and Kleber, the immediate predeceſſors of Menou, had conducted themſelves in a very different manner, and won rather than alienated the affections of the people.

Some idea may be formed of the height to which the popular odium againſt Menou had riſen, when it is remembered that many of the generals propoſed to bring him to a trial, while others thought it would be right to prevail upon General Reynier to aſſume the command, convinced as they were that Menou was wholly unfit for it; a third party, more moderate than either, wiſhed only that the other generals ſhould unite to remonſtrate with and adviſe him.

This was a propoſition very generally acceeded to; and the generals were preparing to wait upon him with this intention, on the 26th October, when the arrival of an officer from Toulon, with diſpatches, was announced to them: this, of courſe, put a momentary ſtop to their deſigns; for it might be that thoſe diſpatches contained the official nomination of ſome other officer to the command in chief, or, perhaps, the ratified authority of Menou: their doubts and heſita-

* This man actually embraced the Mahometan faith, and always ſigned himſelf *Abdallah J. Menou!*

tion, however, were removed, by learning that they were ſtill addreſſed to General Kleber.

Menou, in announcing the news from France, in the order of the day, obſerved that diſſenſions exiſted in the army: this was at once a weak and dangerous proceſs, and it ſeemed to call the more loudly upon the generals of diviſion, Reyneir, Dumas, Lanuſſe, Beliard, and Verdier, to go on with their intended remonſtrance; they, accordingly, went, the ſame day, to his quarters: General Menou was extremely perplexed by the viſit. In this interview the confederated generals obſerved, "That, having conſtantly lived with the armies, they had ſeen nothing but union and the greateſt good-will among the troops, becauſe intrigues had not before been introduced: that the Army of the Eaſt enjoyed perfect tranquillity under Buonaparté and Kleber: that with ſorrow they perceived the germs of diviſion ariſing among the troops: and that, in ſearching for the cauſe, they found it in his conduct, ſince he had taken the command: that the ſureſt means of reſtoring harmony would be, to recal ſome orders, contrary to the general intereſt; to govern himſelf, in future, by the laws of the Republic, with the aid of his chief officers; and, above all things, to baniſh all intrigues. They dwelt on the miſchief of innovations in general, and, more particularly, of ſome of his ordinances: they urged to him, that he could not, in any caſe, place himſelf above the French laws: that if he repreſented the government as to the *civil* adminiſtration of Egypt, he was, to the *army*, no more than their general in chief; and that he had, in that quality, a ſufficiently extenſive latitude to do good: that if Egypt was to be declared a colony of France, the government would deter-

mine upon the form of its adminiſtration; and that this ſhould be a motive to him not to be impatient to innovate: they inſiſted that it was imprudent in him publicly to proclaim Egypt a colony, before the government had declared its intentions on that ſubject: they called to his mind the policy of Buonaparté and Kleber on that delicate point, and endeavoured to make him feel what inquietude that name would give the Turks: they invited him to follow the example of the generals his predeceſſors, who had always been ſparing of innovation, that the inhabitants might not be alarmed and diſguſted at too precipitate changes; to expreſs his orders of the day in more ſuitable language, and to ſpare his declamations on morals and probity, which ſeemed to ſay, that the army was no better than a horde of robbers, whom Buonaparté and Kleber had been unable to diſcipline: they alſo demanded that he would not correſpond directly with the ſubaltern officers, which was contrary to military uſage: they counſelled him not to make, in future, any promotions, except the appointments which are left to the diſcretion of the general in chief on the field of battle, and to fill vacancies: the generals of diviſion alſo obſerved to him, that he ought, for the good of the ſervice, and not to check the zeal of the public functionaries, to abſtain from diſcharging perſons in office confided to them by the government, without bringing them to a court martial. They ſpoke to him of the ſubſcription for a monument to Kleber, and of the ill effects that muſt be produced by his refuſal not only to join the ſubſcription, but even to announce it in the order of the day at the ſame time with Deſaix's.

Menou heard all this with various emotions. To the laſt mentioned remonſtrance, he declared *on his honour*, (a pledge he careleſsly violated) that no one had ever ſpoken to him on the ſubject! But this ſhameleſs falſehood was detected to his face, by naming thoſe who had heard his refuſal. Thus caught, he promiſed to mention the ſubſcription in the order of the day. He acknowledged the increaſe of the price of proviſions, occaſioned by his new duties, and promiſed to put the troops in a condition to procure proviſions with their indemnity.

The generals cautiouſly and delicately forebore to complain to him of matters perſonal to themſelves. The diſcuſſion was a little violent on ſome topics: General Menou was embarraſſed, and made only vague replies. At length he demanded a day for conſideration, declaring that he would give his anſwer in writing. He did not ſend the anſwer; but, the next day, took occaſion to ſay, to one of the generals, that he found their repreſentations juſt, but deſired time to return gradually to former meaſures, that he might not be convicted of too much inſtability.

In this laſt requeſt he undoubtedly evinced a juſt conception of the ſituation of a general in chief. Such is the nature of the human mind, that error itſelf cannot be renounced by men, who are placed in oſtenſible ſituations, without danger: nay, it is often of greater importance to perſiſt in ſome errors, than to unfix the opinion of inferiors by what might be deemed wavering, fickle, and uncertain conduct. There is nothing which ſo effectually deſtroys confidence as perpetual variation in the conduct of

thoſe whom you are called upon to confide in. It is a natural preſumption, that meaſures which are duly premeditated, which are gradually matured, which are deliberately weighed, ſhould be permanent and fixed: it is equally natural to ſuppoſe that thoſe which are eternally altering have been adopted at random, and executed with precipitancy: ſuch meaſures can effect no good; and a frequent repetition of ſimilar incertitude of conduct, tends, infallibly, to generate miſtruſt, ſuſpicion, and contempt. Whatever, therefore, may have been the defects of the plans purſued by Menou, he was, undoubtedly, right in preferring to ameliorate or aboliſh them by gradual improvements, ſo that new ones might ſuperſede thoſe which were erroneous almoſt inſenſibly, and without giving that ſhock to the minds of people which is invariably attendant upon too quick and too conſtant a revolution of things. We are not, indeed, fully convinced that ſuch were the politic motives of Menou; it is much more probable that the gratification of perſonal pride was what he chiefly looked to; and it was more to prevent the appearance of being humbled by a deciſive compliance with the will of the generals, than any deep conviction which he felt of the prudence of his meaſure. Be the cauſe, however, what it might, the beneficial reſults were not diminiſhed; and it too often happens in this world that good is educed from the operation of weak or bad paſſions.

Towards the cloſe of October the generals had another interview with Menou, previous to the funeral ceremonies in honour of Deſaix: he then more explicitly confeſſed the neceſſity of the changes demanded by the generals; and ſaid, that he had already

given orders that ſome of their ſuggeſtions ſhould be carried into effect. He again promiſed to conduct himſelf according to the repreſentations that had been made to him.

The troops were aſſembled on the 31ſt October, to render a funeral homage to General Deſaix.* The ceremony paſſed with profound ſilence; the loſs was deeply felt; but it required a commander in chief of a ſoldier-like character, to offer, in a worthy manner, to a brave man the expreſſion of the regrets of his brave army. The place renewed the ſentiment of the double loſs they had ſuſtained: it was in ſight of Heliopolis, and of the field of battle in which Kleber had regained Egypt, that the cenotaph was erected. It is painful to relate, that the jealouſy and hatred of Menou reſtrained the feelings of the troops. The generals choſe rather to be ſilent than to exaſperate the minds of the ſoldiers, already too much moved.

About this time General Menou cauſed offers to be made to Generals Damas, Lanuſſe, and Verdier, of paſſports for France; but, zealous for the preſervation of Egypt, and ſeeing the army in feeble hands, they hoped ſtill to be uſeful, and declined the offer.

Early in November an officer arrived from France. Private Letters announced that Menou was confirmed in the command; this was officially confirmed a few days after, by the arrival of another officer, who brought him his brevet of Commander in Chief.

* Our readers will remember that he fell in the battle of Marengo on the very ſame day (June 14,) that Kleber was aſſaſſinated in Egypt.

On the ſame day they had another interview with Menou, who again promiſed to adopt the changes propoſed to him; but ſtill expreſſed the deſire to introduce them ſucceſſively.

Such were the feelings of the army towards their head; they regarded him with no friendly nor faithful eye: they had little confidence in his meaſures, and leſs in his abilities. The term, however, was paſſed in which he was to be conſidered as a commander *ad interim*; the government of his country had nominated him the head; and, as ſuch, it was now incumbent on the ſoldiers and officers to ſhew him obedience, except in any caſe which might be conſidered as manifeſtly injurious to the ſervice. Yet it was a forced obedience; and hiſtory too ſtrongly proves, that an army, fighting under a commander beloved, fights without courage and without ſpirit.

CHAPTER VIII.

Partial Exculpation of Menou.—Position of the Grand Vizier after the Battle of Heliopolis.—Calls in the Assistance of the English.—Receives the Plan of the Campaign from Constantinople.—Menou disbelieves the Idea that the English mean to attack Egypt, notwithstanding their extensive Operations.—The extreme Fatuity of Menou in his Decisions.—The Grand Vizier irresolute, and attempts to open a pacific Negotiation with Menou.—The great Advantages of such a Plan.—Murad Bey chosen as the Intermediator.—Osman Bey sent to Cairo.—Disgusted at Menou's Reception of him.—The English Fleet sails from Malta.—Delays in waiting for some Turkish Reinforcements.—Appears before Aboukir.—Preparations for landing.

IN this disgust, which the army felt towards Menou, strict impartiality may, perhaps, deduct something from the charge of the latter. It is to be considered that Menou stood in a situation that necessarily provoked comparison; he succeeded two great men, who had proved themselves eminently conspicuous in their military talents: he had succeeded Buonaparté, unquestionably the greatest man of the present, or perhaps of any age; and he had succeeded Kleber, a brave and gallant general, who was, perhaps, as much beloved by the soldiery as the former was admired and feared. The defects of nature are not to be reverted upon an individual, except when he thrusts himself, uncalled, into situations which call in particular for the exercise of those very parts

he is deficient in: Menou could be compared neither to Buonaparté, nor Kleber: he neither had the promptitude, the policy, nor grandeur of design which belonged to the former; and he was far below the latter in magnanimity of character and generosity of soul. Yet he was placed in such circumstances, as unavoidably, impelled those about him to a comparison: but it may, also, be said, that into these circumstances he did not voluntarily enter; the command *ad interim* was, in a manner, forced upon him, his scruples were overweighed, and the safety of the army represented as being almost dependent upon his acceptance of its command. Perhaps, indeed, those generals who urged him to this step were fully aware of its accidental responsibilities; and, when, they pursued Menou with invective and censure, they only did what they had previously anticipated. Without, however, endeavouring, or even wishing, to defend all the extravagant and capricious actions of this general, we have merely ventured to offer a probable apology for some of the obloquy which has been so liberally heaped upon him.

While these dissensions prevailed in the French army, the Grand Vizier was at Jaffa, (where he had remained since his retreat from Heliopolis) with ten or twelve thousand men, including horse and foot. The fortifications of this place had been repaired by some English engineers, as well as the breach at El Arish. He was, however, in no condition to march, though he continually asserted that it was his intention to proceed with offensive operations; this, however, was merely to inspirit and connect his forces. He received some reinforcements, but these were balanced by desertions; and the plague, which

prevailed in his army, continually reduced his numbers. His troops had not yet forgotten their retreat from Heliopolis; and he was, beſides, in open quarrel with the Baſhaw Ghezzar, who commanded a more numerous army; the greateſt dearth afflicted Paleſtine, the only place under his controul, and, conſequently, the boundary of his reſources. No ſupplies were to be procured from the inhabitants of the villages; and he was, at length, conſtrained to import from Europe, under numerous diſadvantages, the ſubſiſtence for his army; a reinforcement of 10,000 men, aſſembled at Aleppo, was recalled, to act againſt Paſwan Oglou, who, having raiſed himſelf into popularity by his oppoſition to the impoſts of the government, was in formidable rebellion againſt the Porte.

Receiving little money from Conſtantinople, the Vizier attempted, in December, to raiſe the value of the coin, to provide pay for his troops, but the army revolted, and it was with difficulty he pacified and retained them under his ſtandard.

In the midſt of theſe difficulties, and finding it impoſſible to act without an ally, he demanded aid from the Engliſh. Part of the Engliſh army appeared off Jaffa, towards the latter end of December, but were prevented from landing, by the apprehenſions of the plague, which was making great ravages in the Vizier's army. They, therefore, ſailed for Rhodes and the Gulph of Macri, to finiſh their preparations for the campaign.

About the middle of December the Vizier received from Conſtantinople the plan of the campaign, and orders to act in concert with the Engliſh generals. The wiſdom of this policy, however, in

appearing to be particularly connected with the Vizier, may reasonably be doubted; since, by this measure, they forfeited the friendship of the Mamelukes, a brave, powerful, and warlike race, who were thus induced to ally themselves more intimately with the French. General Koehler, or Keller, (for it is spelt both ways,) with some officers of the line, and about forty privates, were about this time engaged in disciplining the Vizier's troops.

The spies of the French employed in Syria, and the Greek vessels arriving at the ports of Egypt, gave information, about the 10th of January, to General Menou, of these hostile dispositions. Certainly there was every reason to suppose that the English meditated a serious descent upon Egpyt; yet Menou could not be persuaded but that the Vizier only would attempt it; and that the English, foreseeing the partition of the Ottoman Empire, would wish to have their share, would establish themselves at Rhodes, and would thus be possessed of the Archipelago.

A detachment of troops, however, quartered in Upper Egypt, received orders to march to Benezouff, and hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Cairo. Two frigates, which entered the port of Alexandria on the 3d of February, with 300 conscripts, a company of artillery and ammunition, brought more certain intelligence of the designs of the enemy against Egypt: it also brought instructions from the French government for its defence, and announced the sending of more considerable succours. Agreeably to this intelligence, Menou, afterwards, occupied Rahmanieh, that, by securing the Delta, he might facilitate the landing of Gantheaume, with two fri-

gates, and carrying a reinforcement of not leſs than 5,000 men, which could not, on the arrival of the Engliſh fleet, be attempted at Alexandria.

Notwithſtanding the extenſive preparations of the Engliſh, in conſequence of the urgent ſolicitations of the Porte, and the total incapacity of that power to reſiſt, by itſelf, the power of France, the Turks were, nevertheleſs, extremely unwilling to engage vigorouſly in active meaſures: many reaſons concurred to produce this irreſolution. They were conſiderably awed by the threats of the emperor Paul: this madman, at the evident inſtigation of Buonaparté, ſeemed determined to over-run the Ottoman Empire; and the Turks were anxious to avoid, what they dreaded beyond any thing elſe, the appearance of a Ruſſian army.

Again; the very appearance of the Engliſh, though ſo much deſired and ſo much needed, now operated as a cauſe of their indecision: the forces of this country were regarded with ſuſpicion, and the dread of the proſpective ſuperiority of the Engliſh nearly equalled the apprehenſion with which the ſucceſs of the French was regarded; for, in either caſe, Egypt might, eventually, be ſubjected to the yoke of the victorious invader. This apprehenſion had, undoubtedly, a juſt foundation; hiſtory is full of truth upon this ſubject. How many inſtances are upon record, where weak ſtates, calling in the aid of a ſuperior one, have, finally, been ſubjected by thoſe whom they invited as their allies and defenders!

The Grand Vizier had, beſides, to counteract the intrigues of the Capt in Bathaw, the uniform advocate of the French, and whoſe aſcendancy was predominant in the Seraglio.

It would ſeem as if the utmoſt fatuity was deſtined to mix itſelf with every action and every reſolution of Menou. The Vizier thought that the beſt mode of counteracting the intrigues of the Captain Baſhaw would be to conclude a peace with Menou, which ſhould have for its object the evacuation of Egypt. This event, ſo much wiſhed, had already been upon the point of execution by the treaty of El Ariſh, when its rupture, by the Engliſh, rendered it abortive: a circumſtance which, doubtleſs, tended to render the Britiſh army not only ſuſpected but leſs reſpected.

A means was, luckily, open to the Vizier of commencing this ſecret negotiation with Menou, without, at the ſame time, awakening the ſuſpicion or exciting the reſentment of the Engliſh. Murad Bey had been encouraged, by Kleber, to correſpond with Ibrahim Bey, as a medium of aſcertaining the plans and diſpoſitions of the allies; this was, therefore, the channel through which the Vizier propoſed to effect his ſcheme: he, therefore, requeſted Murad, through Ibrahim Bey, to offer himſelf as a mediator between the Turks and French. Murad Bey, in fact, hated the Turks and dreaded their vengeance; but it was his policy to keep well with all parties: his fate was united with that of the French army.

The propoſal of mediation to Murad Bey happened at the time when he was accuſtomed to ſend the tribute for his provinces to Cairo. He accepted the inſtructions of the Vizier, and entruſted their conveyance to Cairo to the hands of Oſman Bey Bardiſi: this laſt had an interview with Menou on the 19th of February: he laid before that general a ſtatement of the Engliſh forces, together with the plan of the approaching campaign. The Engliſh army, he af-

firmed amounted to eighteen thouſand men *; they were to attempt a landing, in conjunction with the Captain Baſhaw, while the Vizier croſſed the Deſart, and the Engliſh fleet, with troops from India, ſhould arrive at Suez. He produced the letters which Ibrahim wrote to Murad on the part of the Grand Vizier, who charged Murad to repreſent to General Menou, that the French could ſcarcely reſiſt the combined attack of three armies; that even the victories of the French would be gained by loſſes, in their circumſtances impoſſible to repair; and that they muſt ſink under new efforts. Murad Bey, on his own part, prayed General Menou not to forget *his* intereſts if he ſhould treat; but offered, in the contrary caſe, to ſend him ſuccours, and to aid him with all his reſources.

Never was want of policy, never was want of common ſenſe, more groſsly betrayed, than in the conduct of Menou on the preſent occaſion. Inſtead of accepting the proffered aſſiſtance of Murad Bey; inſtead of availing himſelf of offers to treat, and, by diſſenſions between the Engliſh and the Turks, weakening both parties, he comported himſelf towards Oſman Bey with coolneſs and abruptneſs: he pretended not to credit the poſſibility of executing the plan of the campaign laid before him; he ſeemed, rather, to conſider Oſman as a ſpy, deputed to inveſtigate the condition of the French army, than as the ambaſſador of a mediatorial power: he declared that he had no need of the aid nor of the mediation of any perſon:

* This was much exaggerated, we mean as to the *effective* force; but we ſhall have occaſion to mention the real ſtrength, and ſo ſhew the wilful miſrepreſentations of Reynier on this ſubject.

and obſerved, that Murad Bey would do well to remain tranquil in the provinces ceded to him and forbear all correſpondence with Syria.

To other miſſions, with which Oſman Bey was charged, Menou ſhewed the ſame intemperate reception, and the former was extremely perplexed as to what meaſures to purſue. He related the circumſtances of his interview to General Dumas and the inſpector, Daure, with whom he was more particularly acquainted: both theſe generals endeavoured to convince him that he ought to take no offence at a few harſh words falling from Menou; and ſaid, that he might aſſure Murad Bey of the eſteem aud attachment of all the French.

Oſman remained at Cairo to take back diſpatches from General Menou. On the news of the appearance of the Engliſh fleet in the road of Aboukir, he repeated Murad's offers, to ſtrengthen the French army with all his reſources; but he received only evaſive anſwers, and was, ſoon afterwards, ordered to quit Cairo and return to Murad Bey. Thus terminated the overtures towards a negotiation, which, had it been ſkilfully managed, might have proved of the greateſt importance to the French. Had Buonaparté been at that time at the head of the Egyptian army, what a different turn would, probably, have been given to its affairs! That conſummate general and able politician would have ſeen at once the obvious advantage of ſuch overtures, and would have exerted all his means to procure a diviſion between the Engliſh and Turks. even though he might not have quitted Egypt; which, as it was his favourite ſcheme, it is probable he would have endeavoured to obviate by delays and obſtacles.

During the time we are now ſpeaking of the plague ſhewed itſelf at Cairo and in many of the neighbouring villages; at the ſame time it broke out in Upper Egypt. The finances were collected by force, the military cheſt was nearly exhauſted, and the magazines were unprovided with corn, of which there had been a ſcarcity among the French ſince the death of Kleber: it was, therefore, with conſiderable pleaſure that they ſaw two ſhips arrive in the port of Alexandria, from France, on the 1ſt of March. La Regenerée* brought two hundred men, of the 51ſt demi-brigade, a company of artillery, and ammunition; the brig La Lodi communicated the ſatisfactory intelligence of Gantheaume's ſquadron, with the promiſed reinforcements.

All eyes were now anxiouſly turned towards Egypt: two of the moſt powerful of European nations were contending on its ſhores for the poſſeſſion of the Eaſt; on whichever ſide the balance might incline the event

* It may, perhaps, excite ſome ſurpriſe, that a French frigate ſhould reach Alexandria when our ſhips were covering the Mediterranean: one thing was, that the Engliſh veſſels, which had been blockading this port, were gone to join the fleet under Lord Keith in the Bay of Aboukir. However, it is a fact, that La Regenerée, finding herſelf, unexpectedly, in the midſt of the Engliſh fleet, ſo completely diſguiſed herſelf that ſhe continued with it unſuſpected; this ſhe did a whole day, anſwering the various ſignals made, without exciting the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion: on the following morning ſhe ſtood in for Alexandria, and, hoiſting French colours, proved, unequivocally, her nation! We agree with Sir Robert Wilſon, that this is an honourable anecdote to the credit of the French captain of La Regenerée, and we feel pleaſure in recording it.

was important, not only to England and France, but to the whole civilized world: yet England could not look on without unuſual intereſt. It had, all along, been the policy of Buonaparté to aim at the commerce of England; hoping that, if he could paralyſe that, he might, finally, ſucceed in ſubjugating the realm. It remains however a problem with many of our modern politicians, whether we need depend at all, as a nation, upon foreign trade: but thoſe who were not of this opinion waited, in awful ſuſpenſe, the termination of a conteſt which would, probably, decide the exiſtence of the moſt important of our commercial poſſeſſions. Securely and quietly poſſeſſed of Egypt, Buonaparté might there organize the means of diſturbing our Eaſt India territories, and, perhaps, of, finally, driving us from thence, by inciting the ſurrounding ſtates to hoſtilities and inſurrections. Having no uſe for a navy, he would tranſport his forces over land; previouſly acquiring, by negotiation, the amity and concurrence of thoſe ſtates, whoſe country he muſt paſs through. It was, indeed, a gigantic plan, but neither beyond the comprehenſion of the Hero who conceived it, nor removed ſo far from poſſibility as to deter his enterpriſing genius from attempting it: it muſt, however, have been a work of time, and, perhaps, might, ultimately, have failed; yet the probability of its ſucceſs, nay, the very contemplation of ſuch a ſcheme, was ſufficient to alarm thoſe whoſe intereſts were intimately connected with its ultimate deciſion.

England, in the conteſt which ſhe thus undertook, had many difficulties, proportioned to the magnitude of the object, to ſurmount. The Vizier, with his uſual irreſolution, yet debated on the propriety of co-ope-

tion; while the Captain Baſhaw, who was at Conſtantinople with part of his fleet, inclined to treat with the enemy. The Engliſh taking the unpopular ſide, that of the government, ſtill leſs was to be hoped from the countenance and ſupport of the people, whom the French had long flattered with the idea of freedom and independence. Nor were theſe the only obſtacles: this expedition had to contend with an army, habituated to the country, reſpected, at leaſt, if not beloved, by the inhabitants, and flushed with reputation and ſucceſs; an army inured to danger, aware of the importance of Egypt to their government, determined to defend the poſſeſſion of it: and encouraged in this determination, no leſs by the aſſurance of ſpeedily receiving effectual ſuccours, than by the promiſe of reward and love of glory.

The Engliſh fleet, ſhips of war of various kinds, boats and tranſports, having ſet ſail from Malta, 10th of December, had arrived at Marmorice, on the coaſt of Caramania, on the 28th of December, and had captured on its paſſage a veſſel, bound from Alexandria to Marſeilles, from which ſome information was acquired reſpecting the French force at Alexandria. At Marmorice the whole army was, alternately, put on ſhore, paraded, and refreſhed; and was joined by a convoy of Greeks and Turks, who, however, deſerted during the ſtrong Weſterly gales, on the paſſage to Aboukir, where the Engliſh arrived on the 2d of March. Too much of the day of their arrival had elapſed to admit of the landing being effected before the approach of night; and an unfortunate ſucceſſion of ſtrong Northerly gales, attended by a heavy ſwell, augmenting the difficulties of a coaſt naturally dangerous, rendered it, till the

8th, impoſſible to diſembark. Though it was not originally intended to have commenced operations on the ſide of Alexandria, the long delay of the fleet at Marmorice for the vain purpoſe of ſecuring a reinforcement of Greeks and Turks, induced the general to change his opinion and to proceed at this time.

From the time of the arrival of the Engliſh at Aboukir* to their landing, they had the mortification of ſeeing the ſcattered diviſions of the French army marching daily along the beach into that fort, and batteries erected on the ſandhills to oppoſe their

* Aboukir is a ſmall port, E. N. E. of Alexandria; the interval along the coaſt is rocky and dangerous. Though the Roſetta branch of the Nile is navigable to ſmall veſſels, yet none, of force ſufficient to cover a landing, can approach it. The Delta coaſt is ſhoal to the Damietta branch; which admits of veſſels of great burthen, but not ſufficient to obtain a footing againſt any well directed reſiſtance; farther along the coaſt, to Jaffa and Acre, it is worſe. The Lake Mareotis, extending along the South ſide of the peninſula of Aboukir, was the ancient mouth of the Nile by Canopus. The ſea penetrating, without reſiſtance, into the bed forſaken by the Nile, enlarged it more and more into a vaſt lake, and ſtill continues to enlarge it; inſomuch, that the iſthmus which unites Aboukir to the continent, and along which the canal is carried, which furniſhes water to Alexandria, is threatened with final ruin. For the defence of this iſthmus, the Arabian princes, the caliphs, ſet about forming a mound, or *dyke*, of which, however, traces are only to be found in two places. It is conjectured, either that it was never completed, or that it gave way before the violence of the waves, which are daſhed againſt it, for part of the year, by the Northern winds. This lake, except in the ſeaſon of the inundation, is nearly dry.

diſembarkation. On the evening of March 7th, the wind changing to the Northward, and the ſea becoming more calm, the general was enabled to reconnoitre the ſhore, and determine on the ſpot for landing: while Sir Sidney Smith, who had been diſpatched to Lake Maadie, in three armed launches, to aſcertain ſome points, the poſſeſſion of which might be of ſervice, having aſſailed a battery, taken a blockhouſe, defended by forty men, and boarded a guard-boat at the entrance of Aboukir lake, returned with a chief of brigade captive, and an aſs with its driver, to the unſpeakable amuſement of the whole fleet. Trivial as this event may appear, its effect on the army was electric; every man wiſhed to have been of the party, and looked forward to the morning with emulation. That morning came, ſo big with fate to many of our gallant countrymen, who breathed their laſt on the parched ſhores of Egypt in defence of their country.

CHAPTER IX.

Accurate State of the Britiſh Army employed in the Expedition againſt Egypt.—The great Temerity of the Attempt to land with ſuch a diſproportionate Force, and under ſuch Difficulties.—The Soldiers prepare for their Debarkation.—Solemn Situation, and awful State of Suſpence.—The generous Feelings of Sir Ralph Abercrombie.—Effect their landing, and Loſs ſuſtained on the Occaſion.—Water found in Abundance.—The friendly Diſpoſition of the Arabs.—The Commander of Aboukir Caſtle refuſes to ſurrender it, and it is blockaded.—Menou adopts Precautions for ſtrengthening the Garriſon.—The Supply in the Market cut off.—The French retreat to the Heights of Nicopolis.—Poſition of the Armies previous to the Memorable 21ſt of March.

THE Britiſh army were in want of many comforts; but, what was ſtill more important, they were in total want of correct information reſpecting Egypt. Not a map to be depended upon could be procured, and the beſt draught, from which information could be formed, and which was diſtributed to the generals, proved ridiculouſly incorrect. Sir Sidney Smith was the only officer who knew any thing of the locality of the coaſts, and he, certainly, as far as he had ſeen, gave perfect information: but he had never been in the interior of the country. It is, however, a poſitive fact, extraordinary as it may appear, that ſo little was Sir Ralph Abercrombie acquainted with the ſtrength of the enemy he was preparing to attack, that he rated their force, at the greateſt calculation,

at only 10,000 French, and 5,000 auxiliaries, and, even then, exceeding the number ſtated in the official information ſent from home, and on which the expedition was originally formed.

General Reynier having induſtriouſly endeavoured to miſrepreſent the effective force of the Britiſh army, we ſhall ſtate it exactly:

It conſiſted of the following regiments, amounting to 15,330 men, including 999 ſick, 500 Malteſe, and all kinds and deſcriptions of people attached to an army, except officers. The effective force was not, at the higheſt computation, therefore, above 12,000; and, indeed, that number, within two hundred, was the return given in to the commander in chief.

Guards	Major General LUDLOW.
1ſt, or Royals, 2d battalions, 54th, 92d	Major General COOTE.
8th, 13th, 90th	Major General CRADDOCK.
2d, or Queen's, 50th, 79th	Major General Lord CAVAN.
18th, 30th, 44th, 89th	Brigadier General DOYLE.
Minorca, De Rolle's, Dillon's	Major General STUART.

RESERVE.

40th, Flank Company, 23d, 28th, 42d, 58th, Corſican Rangers, detachment of the 11th Dragoons, ditto Homſpech's Regiment	Major General MOORE.
12th Dragoons, 26th Dragoons	Brigadier General FINCH.
Artillery and Pioneers	Brigadier General LAWSON.

It muſt be allowed, even at the calculation of the ſuppoſed ſtrength of the enemy, that to attack, with ſuch a force, the poſſeſſors of a country, ſtrengthened by the advantages of ſtrong fortified poſts, a nu-

merous cavalry, powerful artillery, and a perfect acquaintance with those few points where a debarkation was practicable, was an enterprise of the most audacious character. What then must be the astonishment of all military men at the success of the expedition, when the real force of the enemy is ascertained!

The wind continuing moderate, and the swell of the sea subsiding, on the morning of the 8th of March, at two o'clock, the first division of the army, consisting of the Reserve, under the orders of Major General Moore, the brigade of Guards under Major General Ludlow, and part of the 1st brigade, composed of the Royals, 1st battalion of the 54th, 200 of the 2d battalion, the whole amounting to about 5,500 men, under the command of Major General Coote, assembled in the boats; the remainder of the first and second brigade being put into ships close to the shore, that a support might be quickly given after the first landing was effected. At three o'clock, on the signal rocket from the admiral's ship, the boats having received the troops, proceeded to rendezvous near the ship Mondovi, which was anchored about a gun-shot from the shore. Here they were to assemble, and be drawn up within the armed vessels, stationed to cover their landing, and wait for orders. This division of the army occupied about 150 gunboats. The clear silence of the night and the interesting solemnity of the scene no words can adequately describe. Along a space of six miles to the shore, nothing was to be heard but the deep murmur of thousands of oars dipping in the sea, and incessantly urging the flower of a brave army to the severest destiny of man! The extent of the anchorage

was so great, that the assembling and arrangement of the boats could not be completed till near nine o'clock.

And here let the reader pause for a moment, to dwell on this solemn scene, and imagine to himself the feelings, the impatience, the suspense, which agitated every mind; the hopes and fears which distracted the spectators; the anxiety of the gallant Sir Ralph Abercrombie for the success of this hardy enterprise; and the fate of the intrepid men who so cheerfully engaged to execute his orders! The heart of the brave man will beat high with enthusiasm.

The right flank of the boats was protected by the Cruélle cutter and the Dangereuse and Janizary gun vessels; the left by the Entrepennant cutter, Malta schooner, and Negress gun vessel; on each flank were also two launches of the fleet, armed, to supply the place of the Turkish gunboats, which had separated on the passage. Sir Sidney Smith, with a detachment of seamen directed to co-operate with the army, had charge of the launches, which contained the field artillery. At nine o'clock the signal was made for the boats to advance: they sprung forwards at the same instant, and the whole scene became animation! The French, to the number of two thousand men, posted on the top of the sandhills, forming the concave arch of a circle on the front, of about 1 mile, (in the centre of which elevated itself a nearly perpendicular height of sixty yards, apparently inaccessible) had looked down with wonder at the preparation; and, since, confessed, that they could not believe the attempt would even have been made: but, when they saw the boats moving with extraordinary rapidity to

the ſhore, and the armed veſſels opening their guns, they could no longer doubt the ſerioufneſs of the intention, and immediately opened a tremendous diſcharge of grape-ſhot, and ſhells of all dimenſions; and, as the boats approached, the ſhower of grape and muſketry ſeemed ſo to plough the ſurface of the water that nothing on it could live; for a moment it even checked and compelled ſome of the boats rather to cloſe upon the left: but the impulſe returned with increaſed ardor, and, preſſing through the ſtorm, the rowers forced to the beach: the Reſerve leaped out of the boats on the ſhore and formed as they advanced; the 23d and 40th ruſhed up the heights with almoſt preternatural energy, never firing a ſhot, but charging with the bayonet the two battalions which crowned it; breaking them, and purſuing till they carried the Two Nole Hills in the rear, which commanded the plain to the left; taking, at the ſame time, three pieces of cannon. The 42nd regiment had landed, and formed as on a parade, then mounted the poſition, notwithſtanding the fire from two pieces of cannon and a battalion of infantry: the moment they gained the height two hundred French dragoons attempted to charge them, but were as quickly repulſed.

The boats of the Guards had ſcarce felt the beach, and the men began to jump out, before the ſame body of cavalry, who had rallied behind the ſandhills, charged ſuddenly upon them: this unexpected attack cauſed a momentary diſorder; but the 58th regiment, formed already on their right, by their fire checked the enemy, and gave time for the Guards to preſent a front, when the cavalry again retreated with conſiderable loſs. The 54th and Royals, from being in tranſport boats, did not reach the ſhore ſo ſoon as the others,

but landed at the inſtant a column of ſix hundred infantry was advancing, with fixed bayonets, through a hollow, againſt the left flank of the guards: the French, on ſeeing them, heſitated, then, firing a volley, retreated. This moment of exultation cannot be deſcribed, but the moſt callous mind muſt be ſenſible to its effect.

The French finding the Britiſh in full poſſeſſion of the heights, and General Coote advancing with the Guards and his brigade, ran from all points of their poſition, but, in the rear ſandhills, maintained, for about an hour and a half, a ſcattered fire; when they were, finally, obliged to retreat, having loſt three hundred men, eight pieces of cannon, and many horſes. The boats returned immediately for the remainder of the army, which, by the great exertions of the navy, were all landed before night. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, impreſſed with the ſtrongeſt feelings of gratitude and admiration, came on ſhore, and took up a poſition diſtant about three miles, with his right to the ſea and left on Lake Maadie.

The loſs of the Britiſh amounted in this affair to nearly five hundred men, among whom were ſeveral gallant officers.

General Reynier, among other falſehoods, (with which his work abounds reſpecting the military operations of the Engliſh in Egypt) aſſerts that the infantry laid down in the bottom of their boats, while the ſailors, indifferent to the French artillery, rowed with vigor to the ſhore. "What kind of boats," ſays Sir Robert Wilſon, "muſt thoſe flats have been which would have allowed of ſuch an extenſion? Is it poſſible that any one can be ignorant of the ne-

ceſſity of troops, in all debarkations, wedging as cloſe as poſſible together in an upright poſition, or how could fifty men be carried in each boat? malignity ſhould always thus defeat itſelf.

"From a conſideration of the enemy's ſtrength," continues Sir Robert, "and an obſervation of the map, military men muſt pronounce that a landing, in the face of ſuch a poſition, was nearly impracticable, where both parties did their duty: but it would be unjuſt to inſinuate that the French did not behave with ſpirit and reſolution. Their defence was ſtrictly good, and the conqueſt one of thoſe ſingular phenomena which occaſionally occur, to animate the brave with a confidence, that brilliant exertions, ſupported by perſevering courage, may ſurmount mathematical improbabilities, and ſnatch a victory where cold calculation would predict a certain defeat. The event, however, does not, in all caſes, juſtify the councils; but Sir Ralph Abercrombie's peculiar ſituation muſt be conſidered, and weigh heavily in the enquiry. Had he been alarmed at the formidable appearance of the poſition, it is too much to be feared, that his prudence, however juſt, would have involved himſelf and army in eternal and irretrievable obloquy."

After the action the army employed itſelf in digging to find water, as Sir Sidney Smith aſſured the troops that, wherever date trees grew, water muſt be near. The fact proved ſo, and the Commander in Chief found himſelf relieved from an anxiety which might otherwiſe have determined him ſtill to relinquiſh the enterpriſe. An Arab came to Sir Sidney Smith, and ſhewed him a well, which he ſaid had

been closed by him ever since the French landed. This was an act of friendship which augured favourably of the general disposition.

The French commander of Aboukir Castle refusing to surrender, the Queen's, and 26th dismounted dragoons, were ordered to blockade it. On the 9th of March the army advanced its position a short way, and there posted, in three lines. On the 10th some skirmishing between the advanced posts took place; 20 Corsican Rangers were taken and the surgeon of the corps, by the sudden advance of a body of cavalry. Colonel Spencer, who had been out reconnoitring with General Moore, narrowly escaped.

The news of the landing of the English had reached Cairo on the 13th, and Menou immediately took precautions for reinforcing the garrison; so that, when the English came in sight of the enemy, they found them strongly posted among sandhills, and palm-trees, four miles from the walls of the ancient Alexandria, eastward, and numbering about 6,000 infantry, besides a body of 600 cavalry, aided by flying artillery. The English amounted to thirteen or fourteen thousand, but their cavalry was badly mounted, and they were deficient in artillery; early on the morning of the 13th they moved forward, however, to the attack. The left wing was first in motion, taking the edge of Lake Maadie, and designing to turn the right of the French; the right, acting as a reserve, covered the movement, and kept in a parallel with the first line. The centre marched slowly on the other side of a height, which, concealing them from view, General Lanusse imagined the left wing to be insulated. Under this persua-

ſion, he advanced into the plain, hoping to overpower it by a briſk attack: this was conducted with all the impetuoſity of French cavalry, and as reſolutely repulſed by the 90th and 92d regiments, particularly the former, whom their antagoniſts unfortunately miſtook for diſmounted cavalry, but found them on their knees prepared to receive the charge: meanwhile the Engliſh centre had appeared on the height. As it was no longer poſſible to flank the left wing, Lanuſſe commenced his retreat, which he conducted with great ability, to the heights of Nicopolis. From this poſition the French might have eaſily been forced by the ardour of their aſſailants, who, in the midſt of a victorious career, were ordered to deſiſt: on reconnoitring the ſituation of the enemy, it was judged imprudent to attempt a poſition that could not, when gained, be occupied. Recovering from their diſmay, on ſeeing a halt commanded at the moment when they expected to be driven within the walls of the city, the French came forward, and enjoyed the ſatisfaction of galling the retreat of the Engliſh.

This action was highly creditable to the gallantry and diſcipline of the Britiſh, whoſe movements were executed with the ſame ſteadineſs and accuracy as if at a review in England. The loſs of the Engliſh was about 1,100 men killed and wounded: the French, of courſe, did not ſuffer ſo much; but, above 500 of them were put *hors-du-combat*. Four field-pieces were alſo taken, and a great quantity of ammunition. Sir Ralph Abercrombie in the action had a horſe ſhot under him.

The Engliſh, with their right to the ſea, near the Roman camp, and their left to the Canal of Alex-

andria, at this time dry, oppoſite the point of Lake Maadie, were aſſiduouſly employed in getting their heavy cannon on ſhore and fortifying their camp. The French, leaving a ſtrong guard on the heights of Nicopolis, to impoſe on the Engliſh, employed themſelves in repairing the works of Alexandria; diſpatching, alſo a veſſel to acquaint the government with what had happened, and to inform Ganthaume of the poſition of the Engliſh fleet. On the 19th of March Fort Aboukir capitulated to the Engliſh: while Menou, arriving from Cairo, the whole of his diſpoſeable force was, on the 20th, concentrated at Alexandria. This junction might, perhaps, have been prevented, had the Engliſh, by cutting the dyke, which ſeparates it from Lake Maadie, let the ſea into the Lake Mareotis.

On the 19th the ſupply in the market, which had been eſtabliſhed, altogether failed, from the advance of General Menou, whoſe patroles had fallen in with and killed ſeveral Arabs bringing ſheep.

On the 20th an Arab chief ſent a Letter to Sir Sidney Smith, acquainting him of the arrival of General Menou with a large army, and that it was his intention to ſurpriſe and attack the Britiſh camp the next morning; but much confidence was not placed in the communication at head-quarters, although Sir Sidney was convinced in his own mind of the honeſty and truth of the information, and aſſured his friends of that event taking place.

On the night of the 20th the poſition of the army had been ſtrengthened by a battery, not cloſed in the rear, erected a little in front, and to the left of the ruins of Ptolemy's Palace, from whence the ſpace to the ſea was open. In front of the right

of the Guards was a redoubt; on their left a large battery, where the ſignal-ſtaff was hoiſted, which was afterwards called The Citadel: on the left of the line a redoubt, and on the Canal of Alexandria two works. On the whole line were two 24 pounders, and 34 field pieces.

CHAPTER X.

Poſition of the Engliſh after the Battle of Nicopolis.—Reſolution of Menou, and Compariſon between his Mode of ſtimulating the Soldiery and Buonaparté's.—The greatneſs of Mind diſplayed in the Harangues of Buonaparté.—Diſpoſition of the French Troops before the Battle of the 21ſt of March.—The Intention of Menou.—Commencement of the Action before Daylight.—Feelings of the Britiſh Army.—Uncommon Bravery diſplayed by the 28th Regiment.—Gallantry of the 42d. Sir Ralph Abercrombie wounded, and his Bravery.—Anecdote of Sir Sidney Smith.—Menou, finding himſelf foiled in all his Attempts, ſounds a retreat.—General Abercrombie, after the Battle, carried on board Lord Keith's Ship.

AFTER theſe various actions there was every reaſon to expect a general engagement; and Sir Ralph Abercrombie, being ignorant of the junction of the army before Alexandria, was anxious that this might be the caſe.

The Engliſh occupied a line about a mile in extent, nearly four miles from Alexandria, having a ſandy plain in their front, the ſea on their right, and the Lake of Aboukir and the Canal of Alexandria, at that time dry, on their left. Their flanks were covered by gun-boats and redoubts filled with artillery. Here Menou reſolved to attack them on the enſuing morning. He proclaimed a *Louis-d'or* for each man who would volunteer to commence the action by turning the right of his enemy. This was

undertaken by the Invincibles, amounting to 900 men. Even in this we may obſerve the character of Menou, and the great diſparity between him and Buonaparté. That Great Man would never have reſorted to the poor expedient of ſtimulating his ſoldiers by the hope of pecuniary reward; it was his conſtant cuſtom to hold before their eyes fame, renown, and honourable wounds: perhaps there never was a general who led his army forward more by the impulſe of pure and unmixed military glory; in modern times, certainly no one has ſo cloſely followed that grandeur of motive that we ſo much admire in the Greeks and Romans. It is impoſſible not to be ſtruck with the animating and forceful harangues, proclamations, &c. of Buonaparté to his army: the ſpirit of an ancient Roman ſhines through them, and ſeems to ſay, "This man deſerves to command." But to return:

On the memorable 21ſt of March the Engliſh army, as uſual, was under arms at three o'clock in the morning: all was quiet till half paſt three o'clock, when the report of a muſket was heard at the extremity of the left: inſtantly afterwards a cannon was fired, ſcattered muſketry ſucceeded, and then two more guns.

An hour before daylight the French troops aſſembled at the advanced poſts. General Lanuſſe believed that the Engliſh redoubts might be eaſily carried by grenadiers, ſupported by the head of the columns. He marched his two brigades in cloſe column, intending to form them beyond the main redoubt and the Roman camp, and fall upon the right of the Engliſh army. The brigade of General Silly was to march directly againſt the redoubt; that of

General Valentin to follow the ſhore, paſſing between the ſea and the Roman camp. The centre was to march cloſe to the right of General Lilly's brigade, following it as a ſecond line; and, on the firſt ſucceſs, vigorouſly to attack, along with the right wing, the poſition of redoubts of the enemy's centre. But the diviſion of the French centre, with two bodies, each with its ſeparate commanding officer, and ſubdivided again by the detaching of its grenadiers, deprived it of that combined action neceſſary to the complete accompliſhment of its orders. The right wing was to form between the lakes and the centre to attack the oppoſite wing of the enemy as ſoon as the enemy's right was broken: they were alſo to detach a corps between the two lakes to occupy the left of the Engliſh, and to prevent their ſending a body againſt Alexandria; this wing was to be ſupported by General Bron, detached with two regiments of cavalry to the baſon of Lake Mareotis, and alſo by a falſe attack of dromedaries on the ſide of Bedah. It was the more confidently to be expected that this falſe attack would greatly occupy the Engliſh and prevent detachments from their left wing, being, as we have already mentioned, ignorant of the junction of the army before Alexandria, and might expect to be attacked on that ſide; and theſe movements, if ſucceſsful, would give the advantage of acting with equal forces on their right. The cavalry were to march in a ſecond line behind the infantry till the left had broken the line of the Engliſh, when they were to ſeize the moment of diſorder to decide the victory by a vigorous charge.

Such were the diſpoſitions of the French army. Let us now return to our countrymen.

We have already mentioned, that, about half paſt three o'clock, a firing was heard on the left: this was the falſe attack of the French. For a moment attention was directed to that quarter; all were convinced that a general attack was commencing, but it was immediately evident that the firing was too feeble on the left to believe that to be the point of the enemy's ſerious object. Indeed this was the univerſal ſentiment; and General Moore, who, as general officer of the night, on the firſt alarm, proceeded to the left, was ſo impreſſed with this idea that he turned back to the right.

For a few minutes all was ſtill; but it was the awful ſuſpenſe of anxious expectation, not of apprehenſion. Every eye was painfully extended forwards through the gloomy miſt of the atmoſphere, and the ears ſtrained to catch the ſmalleſt ſound. Occaſionally the Eaſtern horizon was anxiouſly regarded; but, though the grey of the morning was perceptible, it ſeemed reluctantly to break. On a ſudden, loud ſhouts were heard in front of the right, which fully certified the enemy's intention; a roar of muſketry immediately ſucceeded, and the action there became general.

The enemy, covered by the unequal ſurface of the ground, had advanced, unperceived, as far as the videttes, and continued to preſs on with them, and the retiring piquettes of infantry, to the main poſition, with all poſſible celerity; one column directed itſelf upon the Ruins, where the 58th were poſted, the front of which was conſiderably more extenſive than the front of the regiment; but ſome parts of the wall ſtill ſtanding, it admitted of the regiment's dividing itſelf; but ſcarcely, notwithſtanding, did the troops

fill up the different openings. Colonel Houſton, who commanded, faintly perceived the column of the enemy advancing, with beat of drums and huzzas; but, fearing leſt the Engliſh piquettes might be preceding, he allowed it to approach ſo cloſe that the glazed hats were clearly diſtinguiſhed, when he ordered the grenadiers to fire, which was followed by the whole regiment, and repeated with ſeveral rounds. Theſe continued and well directed diſcharges not only checked but made the enemy's column retire quickly into a hollow, ſome diſtance in their rear, when it, ſhortly afterwards, wheeled to the right, and endeavoured to force round the redoubt in front of its left, with another column directing its march upon the battery. The 28th regiment, ſtationed there, opened a heavy fire on that part of the enemy which attempted to ſtorm the redoubt in front; but the main body of the two columns, now joined to a third, forced in behind the redoubt, and, while ſome remained to attack it thus in the rear, the reſt penetrated into the Ruins. Colonel Crowjye, who commanded the left of the 58th, obſerving their advance, through the openings, wheeled back two companies, and, after two or three rounds of fire, advanced on the enemy with the bayonet. At this inſtant the 23d regiment appeared to ſupport, having moved for that purpoſe from its ſtation, and the 42d alſo advancing on the exterior ſide of the Ruins, to cover the opening on the left of the redoubt, to cut off the troops which had entered, after a ſevere loſs, they were obliged to ſurrender. The 28th regiment had preſented, as well as the 58th, the extraordinary ſpectacle of troops fighting, at the ſame time, to the front, flanks, and rear. Although thus ſurrounded, the 28th regiment

remained fixed to the platform of the parapet, and, preſerving its order, continued a conteſt unexampled before this day.

The advance of the 42nd relieved the 28th, for a moment, from this unequal attack; but as that regiment approached the right of the redoubt, floundering over the tents, and in the holes dug in the encampment of the 28th regiment, charged *en maſſe* and overwhelmed the 42nd: yet, though broken, this gallant corps was not defeated; individually it reſiſted! and the conduct of each man exalted ſtill more the high character of the regiment. Colonel Spencer (who, with the flank companies of the 40th, had taken his ſtation in the intervals of the Ruins) was, for ſome ſeconds, afraid to order his men to fire, leſt he ſhould deſtroy the 42nd, ſo intermixed with the enemy: but the cavalry preſſing on, and directing itſelf againſt that interval, he was obliged to command the firing, which ſtopped the cavalry's advances: yet ſuch a feeble force muſt have inſtantly been overpowered, if, at this critical moment, General Stuart, with the foreign brigade from the ſecond line, had not advanced, in the moſt perfect order, and poured in ſuch a heavy and well directed fire that nothing could withſtand it, and the enemy fled or periſhed. It was in this charge of the cavalry that the gallant Sir Ralph Abercrombie, always anxious to be the moſt forward in danger, received his mortal wound: on the firſt alarm he had mounted his horſe, and, finding that the right was ſeriouſly engaged, proceeded thither: when he came near the Ruins he diſpatched his aids-de-camp with ſome orders to different brigades; and, while thus alone, ſome dragoons of the French cavalry penetrated to the ſpot, and he was

thrown from his horſe: one of them (from the taſſel of his ſword ſuppoſed to be an officer) then rode at him and attempted to cut him down; but, juſt as the point of the ſword was falling, his natural heroiſm, and the energy of the moment, ſo invigorated the veteran General, that he ſeized the ſword and wreſted it from the uplifted hand; at that inſtant the officer was bayoneted by a ſoldier of the 42nd. Sir Ralph Abercrombie did not know the moment of his receiving the wound in his thigh, but complained ſeverely of the contuſion in his breaſt, ſuppoſed to be given by the hilt of the ſword in the ſcuffle. Sir Sidney Smith was the firſt officer who came to Sir Ralph, and who, by an accident, had broken his own ſword, which Sir Ralph obſerving, he inſtantly preſented to him the one he had ſo glorioufly acquired *.

Sir Ralph (as the cavalry was by this time repulſed) walked to the redoubt on the right of the Guards, from which he could command a view of the whole field of battle. The French, although driven out of the camp, by no means gave up the conteſt on the right. A ſecond charge of cavalry was attempted, by their reſerve, againſt the foreign brigade, but com-

* This ſword Sir Sidney Smith means to place on his monument. "A ſingular circumſtance," ſays Sir Robert Wilſon (from whoſe well written, manly, and impartial 'Hiſtory of the Britiſh Expedition,' the above account is chiefly taken) happened almoſt immediately afterwards: Major Hall, aid-de-camp to General Craddock, while going with orders, had his horſe killed. Seeing Sir Sidney, he begged to mount his orderly man's horſe. As Sir Sidney was turning round, to bid him give it to Major Hall, a cannon-ball ſtruck off the dragoon's head. 'This, exclaimed Sir Sidney, 'is deſtiny! the horſe, Major Hall, is yours.'"

pletely failed. After this their infantry did not keep any longer in a body, but acted *en tirailleur*, except that a battalion maintained ſtill a little *flèche* in front of the redoubt, on each flank of which Republican colours were planted.

The ammunition of the Engliſh being by this time totally exhauſted, the regiments of the reſerve were obliged to remain without firing a ſhot, ſome not having one round left; and, for a time, there was not one cartouch for the guns in the battery! While ſuch was the ſtate of the conteſt on the right the attack on the centre had alſo continued. As ſoon as day dawned a column of grenadiers had advanced, ſupported by a heavy line of infantry, to the aſſault of this part of the poſition: the Guards, poſted there, at firſt threw out their flankers to oppoſe them, but theſe being driven in when the column approached very near, General Ludlow directed the brigade to fire, which they did with the greateſt preciſion. The French general, ſeeing the *eſchellon* formation, had advanced to turn the left flank of the Guards; but the officer commanding there inſtantly wheeled back ſome companies, which checked their movement; and the advance of General Coote with his brigade compelled them to retreat. Finding this effort ineffectual they then diſperſed as ſharp-ſhooters, and kept up a very deſtructive fire, at the ſame time that the French cannon played inceſſantly. The left of the Britiſh was never ſeriouſly engaged, it was only expoſed to partial muſketry and a diſtant cannonade.

The French on the right, during the want of ammunition among the Britiſh, had attempted to approach again cloſe to the redoubt; and ſome of them having alſo exhauſted theirs, abſolutely pelted ſtones,

from the ditch, at the 28th, who returned these unusual, yet not altogether harmless, instruments of violence, as a serjeant of the 28th was killed by one breaking through his forehead; but the grenadier company of the 40th moving out, the assailants ran away; the sharp-shooters in front left the hollows they were covered by, and the battalion also evacuated the *flèche*.

At length General Menou, finding that every one of his movements had failed, and that the British lines had suffered no serious impression, to justify the hopes of an eventual success, determined on a retreat: his lines retired, in very good order, under the heights of their position; but, fortunately for them, there was such a want, on the part of the English, of ammunition, otherwise the slaughter would, at least, have been double, as the ground they had to pass over presented a glacis for the farthest range of shot: as it was, the cannon on the left did much execution, and also the King's cutters on the right, which had, during the whole action, most gallantly remained in their station, although exposed to a body of the enemy within half musket shot, expressly firing at them, and who had the advantage of a considerable elevation. A corps of French cavalry, posted at the bridge on the Canal of Alexandria, to protect the right flank of their lines, and to prevent a movement from the British left, deserve equally to be mentioned, for the steadiness with which it maintained its ground, although the shot plunged constantly into the ranks.

At about ten o'clock A. M. the action ceased; but it was not till the defeat of the French was thus absolutely assured, that Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who had

remained in the battery, (where, ſeveral times, he had nearly been killed by cannon-ſhot) could be prevailed upon to quit the field: he had continued walking about, paying no attention to his wound, only, occaſionally, complaining of a pain in his breaſt, from the contuſion. Officers, who went to him in the courſe of the action, returned without knowing, from his manner or appearance, that he had been wounded, and many only aſcertained it by ſeeing the blood trickling down his clothes! At laſt, his ſpirit, when exertion was no longer neceſſary, yielded to nature: he became faint, was placed in a hammoc, and borne to the *depôt*, cheered by the feeling expreſſions and bleſſings of the ſoldiers as he paſſed! he was then put into a boat, accompanied by his aid-de-camp and eſteemed friend, Sir Thomas Dyer, and carried to Lord Keith's ſhip.

CHAPTER XI.

The French Standard taken in the Battle of the 21ſt.—The Honour of this Circumſtance conteſted by the 42nd Regiment and a Private in the Minorca.—Documents reſpecting it, and the Honour, finally, given to the latter. The Victory of the 21ſt, though important, by no means deciſive.—The favourable Conſequences of it towards the Engliſh with regard to Proviſions.—A Flag of Truce ſent in to the French Commander of Alexandria, but its Propoſals rejected.—Death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie—His Character.—Honourable Anecdote of General Lanuſſe.—General Hutchinſon ſucceeds in the Command.—His trying Situation.—Arrival of the Captain Pacha at Aboukir.—Attack on Roſetta, and its final Conqueſt.

SUCH was the honourable and diſtinguiſhed termination to the Britiſh arms of the memorable 21ſt of March, and which left behind but one cauſe of regret, the death of the brave Man who had led our troops on to victory. But the field of battle proves a common grave alike to the glorious and inglorious; and the philoſopher, perhaps, would bid his tears flow as readily for the common ſoldier, dying bravely, as for the victorious general.

It was in this battle that the French ſtandard was taken, the honour of which has been ſo ſtrongly conteſted by different claimants. As an event ſtrongly connected with general and individual honour, and rendered intereſting, both from its own nature and the ſubſequent diſpleaſure ſhewn by Buonaparté to thoſe who had loſt it, we preſume it will not be altogether unintereſting to our readers to find here a ſum-

mary of this affair. Sir Robert Wilſon, in his eſteemed Work, has taken much pains to inveſtigate the buſineſs; and, as his account has not been diſſented from, we ſhall follow him in our details.

The 42nd regiment, and a private of the Minorca, by name Anthony Lutz, claim equally the trophy. Major Stirling firſt obtained poſſeſſion of it when the 42nd ſo gallantly advanced to relieve the 28th and 58th: this officer gave it to the care of Serjeant Sinclair, who, in the ſubſequent charge of the French cavalry, loſt it. When the Minorca advanced to relieve the 42nd, and routed the enemy, the French had recovered the colours; but Lutz, perceiving the ſtandard, advanced from the ranks and fired at the officer who was carrying it, and who was ſome way behind his men: the officer fell; and Lutz, ſeizing the ſtandard, re-loaded his piece, and was proceeding to join his regiment, when two dragoons rode at him: he fired, and killed the horſe of one, then ruſhed upon the rider, whoſe foot was entangled in the ſtirrup; but the man begging his life, and ſurrendering his arms, Lutz granted him quarter, and carried the priſoner, with the colours, to his officer, Lieutenant Markoff, who ordered him to head-quarters, where he received the regulated reward. The other dragoon who had rode to attack Lutz, fled when he ſaw the horſe of his comrade fall. Theſe facts have been properly atteſted and proved in a court of inquiry, which ſat expreſsly to inveſtigate the affair.

It appears, therefore, that the 42nd were firſt in poſſeſſion of the ſtandard; but that Serjeant Sinclair (to whoſe charge it was entruſted) being wounded, it was afterwards retaken by the French; that Lutz, by an act of great perſonal bravery, recovered it from the

enemy, and bore it in ſafety to the head-quarters of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. A certificate was, in conſequence, granted to Lutz, in teſtimony of his honourable conduct, and a bounty of twenty dollars on the ſpot; and, afterwards, it was ordered, that he ſhould wear the *repreſentation of a ſtandard*, as a mark of his good behaviour, on his left breaſt. Theſe badges, commemorative of meritorious ſervices, are admirable methods of rewarding courage, of ſtimulating to it, and of keeping it alive in the boſom. A man who diſtinguiſhes himſelf, and is merely remunerated with a few pounds, ſpends his paltry acknowledgement, and forgets his own heroiſm; at leaſt, it is known only to himſelf, unleſs he boaſt to every one he meets of what he has done: but when he carries perpetually about him an external mark, in memory of his own worth, he not only feels a conſtant ſtimulus to preſerve the name he has acquired, but he continually reads, in the looks and words of others, the gratifying acknowledgement of his own worthineſs, without being compelled to aſk for praiſe by a verbal relation of his deeds. If there be a thing on earth capable of generating courage in the human boſom, it would be the ambition of acquiring a diſtinctive and honourable badge. General Reynier, with the accuſtomed indifference to truth which is characteriſtic of his countrymen, ſtates, that the battalion to which theſe colours belonged was compoſed chiefly of Copts.—"But," ſays Sir Robert Wilſon, very pertinently, "how Copts came to carry a ſtandard on which *Le paſſage de la Scrivia*; *Le paſſage du Tagliamento*; *Le paſſage de l'iſonzo*; *La priſe de Graz*; *Le pont de Lodi*, are inſcribed, General Reynier can only explain."

The loſs of the Engliſh in this action was, ſix officers and 233 men killed; 60 officers and 1,190 men wounded; three officers and 29 men miſſing. The Engliſh tents were torn to pieces by the ſhot, and thouſands of braſs cannon-balls were gliſtering in the ſand.

The conduct of every individual in the Britiſh army was diſtinguiſhed on this memorable day; and, among thoſe who moſt conſpicuouſly ſignalized themſelves, praiſe ſeems, unanimouſly, to be awarded to General Moore; his exertions, perſonal courage, and ability, contributed much to the ſucceſs of the day, and enhanced that character which his former brilliant ſervices acquired him: wounded, early in the action, through the leg, he refuſed to quit the field, and continued in an activity almoſt beyond belief, when the nature of ſuch a wound is conſidered.

The conduct of the troops cannot but excite wonder in military men, of whatever nation they may be: ſurrounded, partly broken, without ammunition, ſtill to continue the conteſt, and remain conquerors, is an extraordinary evidence of intrepidity, diſcipline, and inherent conduct. The Britiſh ſervice may not only pride itſelf on that day for the battle gained, but as it ſerves for the groundwork of future glory, and, if its details are properly impreſſed, muſt univerſally diffuſe inſtruction and confidence in danger.

It is, however, univerſally admitted, that our ſucceſs would have been doubtful but for the palpable miſconduct of Menou: his arrangements were ſo frequently inconſiderate, and his whole conduct ſo indeciſive, that it afforded many opportunities to a prudent and watchful enemy.

But, notwithſtanding the importance of this vic-

Gen.l Sir John Moore. K.B.

tory, it by no means decided the fate of Egypt: not an inch of territory was acquired; the French ſtill retained their poſition, and had an army conſiderably more numerous than the Britiſh in the country; indeed, calculating the mutual loſſes by an inverſe ratio, their ſtrength had increaſed by the diminution of the previous inferior number of their enemy: yet one immediate benefit reſulting, independent of the confidence it inſpired in the troops, was the impreſſion made on the inhabitants and Bedouin Arabs, thouſands of whom had witneſſed the battle, and ſuch a battle as their fathers never recorded to them. The market was immediately ſupplied with every article and a direct communication eſtabliſhed with the interior; ſtill, however, the army was obliged to live on ſalt pork, as the troops did not chooſe, although an allowance was offered to them for their rations, to truſt to the ſupply of freſh meat, and the commiſſary dare not undertake it. Its duties were very ſevere: by night the outpoſts were ſtrong, and the whole laid with their accoutrements on, always turning out at three o'clock in the morning. The day was occupied in bringing the proviſions from the *depôt*, dragging guns, ammunition, wood, &c.; and all this was, neceſſarily, done by men's labour: the camp was being regularly fortified, and batteries and lines raiſed wherever they could add to its ſtrength. In digging many curious antiquities were found, and particularly ciſterns, baths, &c. one of which was ſo perfect as to have the pipe which conducted the water remaining, and the water-mark of its dripping perfectly diſcernible!

On the evening of the 23d of March Sir Sidney Smith went with a flag of truce to the outpoſts, and

demanded to be admitted to the commandant of Alexandria. Whilſt the officer ſent an expreſs to his head quarters a converſation commenced between him and the ſoldiers, reſpecting their ſituation and the affair of the 21ſt; from which it appeared that they by no means fought for Egypt becauſe they wiſhed to continue in the country; indeed, they pitied the Engliſh, who had now ſo fair a proſpect of poſſeſſing it. The affair of the 21ſt they regretted as moſt fatal, and particularly to a number of principal officers; amongſt thoſe ſince dead of their wounds, they mentioned Generals Lanuſſe* and Bodet; they further ſtated, that General Menou had his horſe ſhot under him, and that moſt of the officers of his ſtaff had been wounded.

The anſwer having returned, that no perſon could be allowed to paſs the outpoſts, Sir Sidney Smith ſent in his Letter as from Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Lord Keith, propoſing an evacuation of Egypt to the French, by which they might return to France without being conſidered priſoners of war, but that their ſhipping, artillery, &c. ſhould be ſurrendered to the Engliſh: this Letter was addreſſed purpoſely to the commander of Alexandria. The next morning General Friant returned a note, in which he expreſſed great ſurpriſe that ſuch an offer, ſo diſreſpectful to the Army of the Eaſt and himſelf, ſhould

* We find an honourable anecdote recorded of this officer. Being very ſeverely wounded in the thigh, the bone of which was ſhattered, he was told, that, in order to ſave his life, he muſt ſubmit to an amputation. To this operation the general refuſed his conſent; ſaying, "I do not wiſh to ſurvive this diſgraceful day." A mortification enſued, and he died a few days after.

be made, ſince circumſtances by no means warranted the propoſal, and that the French were determined to defend Egypt to the laſt extremity.

On the 25th March the Captain Pacha, with 6,000 men, arrived in the Bay of Aboukir, and the next day landed, and encamped at a little diſtance from the beach. Near them were lying the remains of 4,000 of their countrymen, who had periſhed two years before. The corruption of that field of battle was ſtill intolerable; almoſt wherever a horſe trod the impreſſion of the hoof laid bare ſome corpſe, with the clothes ſtill on!

On the 29th Sir Sidney Smith, accompanied by Major Montreſor, and Iſaac Bey, a character well known, from his long reſidence in Ruſſia, France, England, &c. and a man of ſuperior talents, went with a flag of truce to the outpoſts, as on the part of the Captain Pacha, Lord Keith, and Sir Ralph Abercrombie; being refuſed admittance into the town, they were, at laſt, obliged to ſend in their diſpatch, to which no anſwer was ever received.

It was on the morning of this day that the death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie was known; he had borne painful operations with great firmneſs, but the ball could not be extracted. At length a mortification enſued, and he died on the evening of the 28th, having always expreſſed the greateſt ſolicitude for the army, and irritating his mind, from the firſt moment, with the anxiety to reſume his command. His loſs was a ſevere one; his death univerſally mourned: he was beloved by the troops for his kindneſs and attention to their welfare, and his courage was their pride and example. His age, combined with his ſervices, exertions, and manners, rendered him an

object of enthusiastic admiration. General, afterwards Lord, Hutchinson, paid a just and affectionate tribute to his memory, in the following well known words:

"Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that, as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country—will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity."

Sir Ralph Abercrombie had endeared himself to his family by the habitual practice of every relative and social duty; by the amiableness of his manners, the tenderness of his affections, the simplicity and integrity of his life. No man ever felt more deeply the awful responsibility attached to a commander in chief. "These victories," replied Sir Ralph, (being congratulated on his successes) "make me melancholy." He considered war as a solemn, though a trying duty; and regarded victory of no value, but as it tended to promote the interests and the repose of society. Such a character deserves at once praise and admiration, and must be reckoned among the highest benefactors of mankind.

General Hutchinson, on whom the command now devolved, found himself succeeding to a situation, unexpectedly, under circumstances the most unfavourable. The previous victories must have inspired hopes in England and Europe, nay, almost positive confidence, of the success of the expedition, if common prudence directed the operations; and Egypt, after

the battle of the 21ſt, he was aware, would be conſidered as conquered. His trophies could probably, therefore, be few, whilſt his reſponſibility was great; he ſaw, however, that the campaign was but commenced, aſſuredly, with favourable auſpices, but no decided ſuperiority. A greater army than his own was ſtill to be combated, ſtrong places to be taken, climate to be endured, ſupplies to be obtained from the interior, communications to be eſtabliſhed with the Vizier and the Indian army; and, independently of theſe formidable difficulties, the plague, and other diſeaſes, menaced to reduce his force. Lord Keith alſo aſſured him, that, after October, he could no longer remain on the coaſt with the ſhipping, on account of the weather and ſtate of the veſſels.

To abandon the enterpriſe was infamy, to complete it with glory a precarious proſpect; an attack on Alexandria was too deſperate an enterpriſe to be undertaken; but to remain inert was impoſſible; the fleet wanted water, the troops freſh proviſions; he, therefore, determined to make an effort, which, if ſucceſsful, might procure the poſſeſſion of Roſetta and command of the Nile. The 58th and 40th flank companies, with a detachment of Hompech's huſſars, conſiſting of thirty men, and eight pieces of cannon, were ſpared for this ſervice. With this corps 4,000 Turks, who had arrived with the Captain Pacha, and now put under the orders of the Caia Bey, were deſtined to act. Colonel Spencer commanded the whole. On the 2d of April the corps marched for Aboukir, where it was to croſs the ferry and join the Turks.

On the 10th of April Roſetta was captured. Colonel Spencer, having paſſed his army acroſs the two

ferries, had proceeded on the 7th to Edko, keeping his right upon the lake, and only detaching patroles along the beach of the ſea, by which he alſo avoided the melancholy ſight of the number of dead bodies, thrown overboard from the hoſpital ſhips, and which the ſea had, unhappily, yielded up again. He arrived at Edko without oppoſition. The Turks, however, had given him much uneaſineſs; as they kept, by way of amuſement, firing conſtantly in the air with ball. On the morning of the 8th the army arrived before Roſetta, after a painful march acroſs the Deſart; where, frequently, in the hollows of the ground, the air was ſo hot as to excite the ſenſation of the vertigo, and where, from the mirage, it ſeemed a lake of water, reflecting even the ſhade of the date trees; an extraordinary deception, which no reaſoning or ſtrength of ſight could remove. The French, to the number of 800 men, were drawn up in front of Aboumandour, a very high ſandhill above the Nile, to the Southward of Roſetta, on which was an old tower; but, as Colonel Spencer approached, the greater part paſſed acroſs the Nile in dgerms, ready for the purpoſe, and the remainder retreated towards El Hamed; that body which had croſſed the river drew up on the bank, and remained ſo poſted until two guns were brought up and fired at them, which killed and wounded ſeveral men. Colonel Spencer then detached the Queen's and 500 Arnauts to occupy Roſetta and blockade Fort St. Julien, while he proceeded with the main body to El Hamed.

The poſition of El Hamed was remarkably ſtrong, the right being on the lake, the left on the Nile, and the higheſt banks of a canal in Egypt running along the front: but it muſt be underſtood, that theſe canals

are not like thoſe of Europe, as they have no water in them except at high Nile, the level of the country forming their bed, and the banks being raiſed above it. They may properly be called canals of irrigation.

When the army firſt arrived on the banks of the Nile, a dgerm was ſeen ſailing up it from Roſetta, in which was the commandant: a great number of ſhots were fired at him, but he perſevered and eſcaped.

The eaſy conqueſt of Roſetta was an object of aſtoniſhment. It had been conſidered ſo important an acquiſition, that its capture was deemed very precarious: indeed, Colonel Spencer's inſtructions were, to abandon the enterpriſe if he met with ſerious reſiſtance. The French, had they ſuſpected this movement, might have paſſed a corps round Lake Maadie, and, leaving a poſt at Beda, advanced on the iſthmus between that lake and Lake Edko, thus intercepting his retreat, while an attack in front would have placed him in a deſperate ſituation; and, had there been an enterpriſing partiſan employed, he might have made much advantage afterwards of that movement, and conſiderably diſtreſſed the Engliſh, by deſtroying the ferry, bridge, &c. &c.; and this occaſion offered until the 21ſt of May, when Beda was occupied by 450 men of the Coldſtream, and the 3d Guards, 20 dragoons, with four pieces of cannon.

This negligence, however, was only one of the many overſights committed by the French during this campaign. It ſhould ſeem as if the errors of Menou were infectious, and ſpread themſelves with fatal rapidity, through every corner of the camp. Perhaps,

indeed, an eaſier and a more natural ſolution of theſe blunders may be diſcovered: the army began to be heartily tired of their ſituation; they regarded themſelves as abandoned to their deſtiny, and longed to return to their native country. No longer under the guidance, no longer held in awe by the ſtern ſeverity of Buonaparté, they relaxed from their diſcipline, and loſt their ardor for glory: the impulſe had died away by the deſertion of Buonaparté and the murder of Kleber; and, anxious only to quit an inhoſpitable climate, they half favoured their own defeats by the unſkilfulneſs which they voluntarily adopted.

CHAPTER XII.

General Hutchinſon determines to proceed with his Operations.—A Letter from Murad Bey.—The Death of this extraordinary Man, and his Character, by General Reynier.—Reinforcement of Turkiſh Cavalry.—Capture of Rahmanieh, and its Effect upon the French Army.—The great Reſponſibility attached to General Hutchinſon.—His Doubts and Anxiety whether to proceed towards Cairo or fall back upon Alexandria.—Finally determines upon the former.—Capture of a rich Convoy of Dgerms.—The French reſolve to attack the Grand Vizier before his Junction with the Engliſh Army.—Battle of El Hanka, and the Defeat of the French.—Dreadful Sirocco.—Junction of the two Armies.—General Hutchinſon advances towards and inveſts Cairo.—A Flag of Truce ſent out, and Capitulation propoſed.

THE facility with which Roſetta had been taken, as well as St. Julien, inſpired well founded hopes, and General Hutchinſon determined to preſs on his operations againſt the interior. On the 23d of April, therefore, he ſent the Quarter Maſter General and his ſtaff, and on the 26th himſelf arrived at Roſetta, having, on his way, paid a viſit to the Captain Pacha in Aboukir Bay, who had returned on board of his ſhip.

Towards the latter end of April a meſſenger arrived from Murad Bey, with an anſwer to a Letter ſent from the Engliſh Commander in Chief, accompanied by the Grand Signior's firman and the Captain Pacha's guarantee of protection. Our readers will recollect, that, previouſly to the arrival of the Eng-

liſh, the Grand Vizier had endeavoured to open a negotiation for peace with Menou, and had choſen Murad Bey as the mediator; but the haughty and ſelf-ſufficient conduct of Menou was the means of rendering the advances of the Vizier nugatory. Murad Bey, by this meſſenger, aſſured the Engliſh general, that, if his army advanced towards Cairo, he would join him; but obſerved, he dare not make a deciſive motion previouſly; and, in a Letter to Sir Sidney Smith, he ſays, "How can I be attached to the French? have they not deprived me of my ſovereignty, my honour, and revenues? but it is on the Engliſh faith alone I can depend. The Turks have no right to my confidence. Alluding to the hoſtility of the Turks againſt him, and the unnatural inveteracy of people who profeſſed the ſame faith; he beautifully expreſſes himſelf, "Melancholy is it to reflect, that the arrow which has ſtuck in the eagle's wing was an arrow made of an eagle's feather!"

Shortly after this period advice was received of his death. He had been ſeized with the plague whilſt gradually deſcending the Nile, to join the Engliſh, three days before his deceaſe, and expired on the 22d of April. On his death-bed he charged Oſman Bey Tambourgi, (ſo named from having originally been a drummer among the Mamelukes) whom he had recommended as his ſucceſſor, to attach himſelf to the Engliſh. The Beys and Mamelukes regretted the death of this extraordinary man ſincerely; and, when they buried him at Saouague, near Tahta, they paid the compliment to his valour, of breaking his ſabre into his grave, as an expreſſion that no one elſe was worthy of wearing his arms.

"Murad Bey," ſays General Reynier, "was no

ordinary man; he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree the virtues and the weakneſſes which attach to that point of civilization the Mamelukes are arrived at. Abandoned to all the impetuoſity of his paſſions, in his firſt emotions he was terrible; but his vehemence frequently ſubſided in an extreme weakneſs. Gifted by nature with that aſcendancy of character which marks man for empire, he poſſeſſed the inſtinct to command without any knowledge of the duties of a governor. Prodigal and rapacious, he laviſhed on all his friends, and then oppreſſed the people to ſupply his own wants. To theſe general traits muſt be added an extraordinary ſtrength of body, a courage not to be daunted, and a confidence ſuperior to misfortune, which, never, for a moment, deſerted him in all the numerous criſis of his diſtracted life."

The loſs of ſuch a man may be conſidered as an eſſential drawback upon the proſperous circumſtances of our arms. It is hardly poſſible to calculate the degree of advantage that might have been drawn from an ally of his character, acquainted with the natural reſources of the country, and endeared to its inhabitants by ſo many eſtimable qualities.

The main army now continued moving on. On the 7th of May the *Turkiſh cavalry* arrived, as a reinforcement of the Britiſh forces. Theſe troops were not real Turks, but Syrians, almoſt naked, many without arms, beyond belief miſerably mounted, totally undiſciplined, even to ſavage wildneſs! Such a reinforcement (and their force did not exceed 600 men) offered no great advantage, yet was not to be rejected. The Captain Pacha was vexed, particularly at the defalcation of their numbers.

On the 9th of May the Engliſh army reached Rahmanieh, which, after a ſevere action, ſurrendered to them, and the enemy retreated to Cairo. The greater part of their flotilla was prevented from eſcaping by the batteries on the right of the Nile, and became the property of the victors. The loſs of Rahmanieh, it is ſaid, deeply affected the French. By this event Alexandria was inſulated, and the end for which Rahmanieh had been occupied by Menou, the command of the Delta, and the landing of the troops under Gantheaume, appeared no longer attainable. The loſs of the Britiſh in this affair amounted to four officers wounded, ſix men killed, and nineteen wounded; the Turks ſuffered more conſiderably. The French loſt about one hundred men.

About this period, General Menou, who remained at Alexandria, became more and more jealous of the other officers. The loſs of Rahmanieh raiſed great murmurs through the army againſt him, who, having ſteadily perſiſted in the impoſſibility of the event, had concerted no meaſures to provide for its conſequences. Theſe murmurs reached his ear, together with expreſſions of the eſteem and confidence with which the troops diſtinguiſhed General Reynier. The report, at that time in circulation, that this general was appointed to the command of the army, and General Menou reſtricted to the civil adminiſtration of Egypt, augmented his jealouſy, which was the more violent, becauſe he could not diſguiſe from himſelf that General Reynier had foretold the ſucceſſive diſaſters of the army, and pointed out the means of preventing them. He thenceforth reſolved to baniſh him; he was conveyed, forcibly,

on board a veſſel, ready to ſail for Europe, and where he alſo found General Damas; Daure, principal Commiſſary; Boyer, Adjutant-commandant, and ſeveral other officers. General Reynier wrote an expoſtulatory Letter to Menou, full of bitterneſs and invective.

The battle of Rahmanieh was an event of more ultimate than immediate importance: much yet remained to be done. The French had retired, and, though repulſed, were not weakened: their concentrated force from Cairo might always advance; they had loſt a poſition, yet ſtill poſſeſſed the capital, and principal fortreſs of the country.

Every thing, therefore, now depended upon the movements of General Hutchinſon; whether he ſhould move onwards towards Cairo, or fall back upon Alexandria. There were many reaſons for and againſt either meaſure: the popular opinion was for the latter, for the fatigues of advancing further into the country were dreaded. Beſides, it was argued, that, ſhould Cairo be conquered, ſtill Egypt would not be ours, while the French had poſſeſſion of Alexandria: while, on the contrary, if the latter were taken, Cairo muſt, eventually, capitulate.

Theſe various objections diſtracted, for ſome time, the mind of the Commander in Chief; he was fully aware of the truth of the laſt argument, but ſtill he was unable to conceive he could ſucceſsfully attack Alexandria while General Belliard's army remained in force; he dreaded alſo the difficulties which were to be ſurmounted by the troops under his command: but, at laſt, he decided that the movement was indiſpenſible. "My natural habits and preſent ſtate of health," ſaid he, "would perſuade me not to attempt

a march where such exertion must be necessary, and in which, probably, I shall fall a sacrifice to the climate; but my duty to my king and country, and the gallant men who have been employed in this expedition, determine me to undertake it. If I succeed, great will be my satisfaction to find that my capacity did not betray their interests; if I fail, the consciousness of integrity, and the most ardent devotion for their glory and welfare, will support me in retirement." In this decision General Hutchinson remained fixed, though considerable opposition was made to it.

The entrenched camp of Rhamanieh was given up to the Turks, who left a garrison of about 300 men in the fort.

About this time a convoy of dgerms, coming from Cairo by Lake Menouf, ignorant of the retreat of General Legrange from Rahmanieh, fell into the possession of the English, with 150 prisoners, and several guns, intended for the defence of Alexandria. The convoy was extremely valuable, consisting of clothing, wine, spirits, stores, and nearly five thousand pounds in money.

When the Mamelukes took possession of Cairo, after the battle of Heliopolis, they rendered a most important service to the Vizier, by recalling the French from the pursuit of his flying forces and employing them in the reduction of that city: his army being thus preserved from absolute dispersion was permitted to recruit at Jaffa: but here it immoveably remained; the Vizier having resolved not to move a step to the assistance of the English till, in fact, they had conquered for themselves: it was not, therefore, until informed of the brilliant success of his allies,

and aided by their artillery and officers, that he was induced to march, at the head of 23,000 men, with whom he reached Belbeis on the 7th of May, and immediately threw up intrenchments. Numbers, who only waited to aſcertain whether this army would paſs the Deſart unmoleſted, convinced of their ſecurity, now flocked to his ſtandard. The French forces at Cairo, under General Belliard, being, about this time, ſtrengthened by the junction of General Legrange from Rahmanieh, it was reſolved to defeat the Vizier before the arrival of the Anglo-Turkiſh army, commanded by General Hutchinſon: nearly 5,000 infantry and 900 cavalry, chiefly from Rahmanieh, were ſelected for the execution of this deſign. Had the French been permitted to make an attack on ſuch a rabble as the Turkiſh army, which they would have done, and probably in the night, their defeat would have been certain; Major Holloway, Major Hope, of the artillery, and other Engliſh officers who were preſent, therefore perſuaded the Vizier to anticipate an attack by making one.

On the 15th of May his Highneſs the Grand Vizier received intelligence that the enemy were in full march from Cairo on the road towards Belbeis. The Vizier, after it was dark, ordered Tahir Baſhaw, with 3,000 cavalry and three light field-pieces, to advance to meet them, and, if a favourable opportunity ſhould offer during the obſcurity of the night, to attack; but, if not, to impede their march as much as poſſible. About ten o'clock at night they met, three leagues from the Ottoman camp, when each halted, and lay on their arms during the night, and until eight o'clock in the morning, at which time Tahir Baſhaw commenced an attack: he was, ſoon after, reinforced by

1,500 cavalry. It was now found that the enemy had come forward with about 14 pieces of artillery, 600 cavalry, and 4,000 infantry; the Vizier, therefore, ordered Mahomed Baſhaw to move forward with 5,000 men, cavalry and Albanian infantry, and nine light field-pieces: (the French had eight-pounders in the field.) The other Engliſh officers, beſides Major Holloway and Major Hope, were Captain Lacey, of the Royal Engineers, and Captain Leake, of the Royal Artillery: Captain Lacey accompanied Mahomed Baſhaw and Captain Leake Tahir Baſhaw. Each of theſe officers received their orders from Major Holloway, remaining ſtill near the perſon of the Vizier; who, after ſending forward his advanced guard, came up himſelf and took the command. Major Hope was with the artillery.

The enemy moved into a wood of date trees, where they were attacked by the Turkiſh cavalry and infantry with great ſpirit for three hours; when, retiring from the wood, they took a poſition on the left, their left flanked by a wood and forming a hollow ſquare on the right. The Albaneſe infantry advanced to the edge of the wood, and in this ſituation galled them much; and, on the Turks threatening their right, the French changed their poſition and attempted to gain the heights, in which they were prevented by a rapid movement of Turkiſh cavalry, who gained the ſummit: in this manœuvre they were annoyed by two guns, which were advanced on the occaſion. At this time the French commenced a decided retreat, and were driven beyond El Hanka, a diſtance of not leſs than ſeven miles from the place of the firſt operations. The Grand Vizier, who commanded his troops with great gallantry and prompt

decision, then gave orders for them not to pursue them any farther.

The affair lasted seven hours; but, although there was much firing, still the loss, as stated, was inconsiderable: yet it is not by the number of killed and wounded that the importance of this battle is to be estimated; but it must be considered as discomfiting the projects of the French, rendering the surprising efforts of their march a useless exertion, elevating the spirit of the Turks, and inspiring confidence among their friends in Cairo and the country.

While this passed on the side of Cairo Fort Lesbeh surrendered to a detachment from the Vizier's army. These successes reanimated the drooping energy of the Vizier, and taught him to confide in the spirit and genius of his allies; (for it must be remembered, that the disposition of the Turkish army, the order of march, and all their movements, were arranged by Major Holloway:) he, and all the British officers present, very much distinguished themselves by their exertions, and the Vizier was sensible of their merits. General Reyneir, with his usual perversion, augments the Vizier's army with five hundred English artillery; thus clothing twenty-nine men with five hundred buckram jackets!

The consequences of this victory were eminently favourable to the Allied Powers: those who consider how easily men are depressed and how easily exalted, and how much depends upon the state of internal conviction with which armies go to battle, will fully appretiate the effect of the victory at El Hanka upon the minds of the Turks; a race of men once renowned in arms, and, even now, mindful of their

high character, fatalists too, and, therefore, as easily sunk and elevated as children.

The inhabitants of Cairo saw the French return baffled aud dejected; they beheld the Ottomans pursuing, and their crescent triumphant as far as Heliopolis, where the Grand Vizier, who had distinguished himself in the action, passed the night in the full pride of victory. The lucky termination of this battle relieved General Hutchinson from his anxiety and secured a freedom of operations.

On the 23d, General Hutchinson being desirous to hold a conference with the Grand Vizier, that the future plan of operations might be arranged, left the camp, with the Captain Pacha, and went in his barge by the Canal of Menouf. This day was memorable for a Sirocco wind, which darkened with a burning mist the atmosphere: the thermometer was at 120 in the shade; the ground was heated like the floor of a furnace! every thing that was metallic, such as arms, buttons, knives, &c. became burning hot; the poultry exposed to the air, and several horses and camels, died; respiration was difficult, and the lungs were parched with the fiery particles! Had the heat continued forty-eight hours the effects would have been dreadful; but, happily, as night drew on, the wind cooled, and, at last, changed to the North-west.

General Hutchinson continued in his resolution of advancing towards Cairo: he was now joined by his Turkish allies, and they continued their painful and adventurous progress with various delays and obstructions; it was not till the 20th of June that he arrived at Embabeh, before Gizeh.

The General had intended to change the front of

the army and take up an oblique poſition, ſo as to approach with his right nearer the point of attack; when, on the 22d of June, early in the morning, a French officer, from Giza, with a flag of truce, was brought in to the General, by Captain Taylor. He came from General Belliard, to require that an Engliſh officer might be ſent to a conference, he propoſed. The General conſented, and he ſent to know of what rank the officer ſhould be. The anſwer was returned, That, as the matter to be diſcuſſed was of the higheſt importance, it was requeſted that a general officer might be ſent: General Hope was, therefore, named, who met a French colonel of engineers (Touiſſard) near Giza, and ſtaid with him a long time.

The next morning, by agreement, General Morau and General Hope met under the trees near Giza: three tents were pitched for them and their attendants: a guard of honour, compoſed of grenadiers and cavalry, attended each.

General Belliard had, at firſt, propoſed that each party ſhould have an armed eſcort: but General Hutchinſon anſwered, That, between the troops of civilized nations, ſuch a precaution could not be neceſſary: a reply which handſomely maintained the dignity of his allies.

CHAPTER XIII.

Reaſons for granting a Capitulation to Cairo.—Conferences upon this Subject, and final Arrangement.—The French evacuate the different Forts and the Town of Cairo.—Convention ſigned between the reſpective Generals.—The Terms granted by the Britiſh too lenient.—The ſolemn Scene of removing Kleber's Coffin, to convey it to France.—Kleber's Reſolution with regard to Buonaparté.—Total Evacuation of the French, and their March towards Roſetta, for Embarkation.

IT may, perhaps, appear ſingular, that, ere a blow was ſtruck—ere any preparations, even for an attack, were made, propoſals for capitulation ſhould be made. But the ſituation of the French army at Cairo was extremely precarious; they could not effect a retreat, neither were they able to defend Cairo, their ammunition being nearly exhauſted, their treaſury empty, and proviſioned only till the middle of July: every motive of prudence, therefore, ſeemed to demand a ſurrender; and never, ſurely, was a congreſs more intereſting, in the preſence of ſuch an army, compoſed of the troops of ſo many nations, on ſuch remarkable ground, and on ſo important a ſubject.

General Moran unequivocally declared, That the object of his inſtructions was the evacuation of Cairo and the return of that garriſon to France; and to arrange which, General Hope, on the part of the Engliſh; Iſaac Bey, on the part of the Captain Pacha; Mohammed Pacha, for the Vizier; and Oſman Bey, for the Mamelukes, were appointed: and, on the part

of the French, General Douzelot, and Colonel Tarayre, *chef de brigade*, were the negotiators. Captain Taylor officiated as ſecretary.

Late in the evening the conferences broke up, when a ceſſation of hoſtilities for forty-eight hours was proclaimed. The reaſon aſſigned for ſo long an armiſtice was, the repreſentation made by General Moran, that General Belliard was obliged to call a council of war, which it was difficult to aſſemble, from the ſeverity of the duty of the ſuperior officers.

The conferences, notwithſtanding, proceeded: on the 24th the line of demarcation was ſettled: but it required conſiderable exertion to enforce the preſervation of it by the Grand Vizier's army. The French, aware of the difficulty, had ſtipulated that a Britiſh officer ſhould accompany the ſuperior officer of his Highneſs's army, who might be named, to take up the line of outpoſts. In conſequence of this arrangement the Tibbidy Pacha and Major Birch met General Almeyras, who endeavoured to impreſs on the Turks the neceſſity of maintaining the boundaries preſcribed, by forewarning them of the diſagreeable conſequences which muſt enſue from their encroachment on the French line.

On the 26th the Definitive Articles were agreed to, and on the morning of the 27th the Capitulation was ſigned, but the articles were not publiſhed to the Engliſh army until a copy, printed and circulated by General Belliard, was obtained from Cairo: an arrangement, not made public, was, however, ſtipulated, that the French troops, embarked in men of war, were to give up their arms to the cuſtody of the captain during the paſſage.

The Turks made much oppoſition to Madame Menou's leaving Egypt, and the General was obliged decidedly to aſſure them that he would protect her perſon.

On the 28th of June the fort of Soulkowſſhi was taken poſſeſſion of by the 30th regiment, and the gate of Giza by the grenadiers of the line and a detachment of the body-guards of the Captain Pacha: a compliment paid by General Belliard to him individually, as the French had expreſsly ſtipulated that no Turks were to take poſſeſſion of the forts.

The ſame day Colonel Paget was ſent as a hoſtage to the French, and they ſent Colonel Langlois to the Britiſh camp; an officer of the ſame rank to the Vizier; and Colonel Pouiſſard to the Captain Pacha.

The commiſſioners after-named having met and conferred, after the exchange of their reſpective powers, agreed upon the following Articles.

CONVENTION

Of the Evacuation of Egypt by the French and Auxiliary Troops, under the Command of the General of Diviſion, BELLIARD; *concluded between Brigadier General* HOPE, *on the Part of the* COMMANDER IN CHIEF *of the Britiſh Army in Egypt*; OSMAN BEY, *on the Part of his Highneſs the* GRAND VIZIER; *and* ISAAC BEY, *on the Part of his Highneſs the* CAPTAIN PACHA; *the Citizens* DOUGELOT, *General of Brigade*; MORAU, *General of Brigade*; *and* TARAYRE, *Chief of Brigade, on the Part of the General of Diviſion,* BELLIARD, *commanding a Body of French and Auxiliary Troops.*

ART. I. The French forces, of every deſcription, and the auxiliary troops, under the command of the general of diviſion, Belliard, ſhall evacuate the city of Cairo, the ci-

tadel, the forts of Boulac, Gizah, and all that part of Egypt which they now occupy.

Art. II. The French and auxiliary troops ſhall retire by land to Roſetta, proceeding by the left bank of the Nile, with their arms, baggage, field artillery, and ammunition, to be there embarked, and conveyed to the French ports of the Mediterranean, with their arms, artillery, baggage, and effects, at the expenſe of the Allied Powers. The embarkation of the ſaid French and auxiliary troops ſhall take place as ſoon as poſſible; but, at the lateſt, within fifteen days from the date of the ratification of the preſent Convention. It is alſo agreed, that the ſaid troops ſhall be conveyed to the French ports above mentioned by the moſt direct and expeditious route.

Art. III. From the date of the ſignature, and ratification of the preſent Convention, hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe on both ſides. The fort of ————, and the Gate of the Pyramids, and the Town of Gizah, ſhall be delivered up to the Allied Army. The line of the advanced poſts of the army, reſpectively, ſhall be fixed by commiſſioners named for this purpoſe; and the moſt poſitive orders ſhall be given, that theſe ſhall not be encroached upon, in order to avoid all diſputes; and, if any ſhall ariſe, they are to be determined in an amicable manner.

Art. IV. Twelve days after the ratification of the preſent Convention, the city of Cairo, the citadel, the forts, and the town of Boulac, ſhall be evacuated by the French and auxiliary troops, who will retire to Birdhim Bey, the Iſle of Rhoden and its dependencies; the Fort of Fourcroy and Gizah, from whence they ſhall depart as ſoon as poſſible, and at the latest, in five days, to proceed to the points of embarkation. The generals commanding the Britiſh and Ottoman armies, conſequently, engage that means ſhall be furniſhed, at their charge, for conveying the French and auxiliary troops as ſoon as poſſible from Gizah.

Art. V. The march and encampment of the French and auxiliary troops ſhall be regulated by the generals of the reſpective armies, or by the officers named by each party; but it is clearly underſtood, that, according to this article, the days of march and encampment ſhall be fixed by the generals of the Combined Armies; and, conſequently, the ſaid French, and auxiliary troops, ſhall be accompanied on their march by Engliſh and Turkiſh commiſſaries, inſtructed to furniſh the neceſſary proviſions during the continuance of their route.

Art. VI. The baggage, ammunition, and other articles tranſported by water, ſhall be eſcorted by French detachments, and by armed boats belonging to the Allied Powers.

Art. VII. The French and auxiliary troops ſhall be ſubſiſted, from the period of their departure from Gizah to the time of their embarkation, conformably to the regulation of the French army; and, from the day of their embarkation to that of their landing in France, agreeably to the naval regulations of England.

Art. VIII. The military and naval commanders of the Britiſh and Turkiſh forces ſhall provide veſſels, for conveying to the French ports of the Mediterranean, the French, and auxiliary troops, as well as all French, and other perſons, employed in the ſervice of the army. Every thing relative to this point, as well as in regard to ſubſiſtence, ſhall be regulated by a commiſſary named for this purpoſe, by the General of Diviſion Belliard, and by the naval and military commanders in chief of the Allied Forces, as ſoon as the preſent Convention ſhall be ratified. Theſe commiſſioners ſhall proceed to Roſetta or Aboukir, in order to make every neceſſary preparation for the embarkation.

Art. IX. The Allied Powers ſhall provide four veſſels, (or more, if poſſible) fitted for the conveyance of horſes, water-caſks, and forage ſufficient for the voyage.

Art. X. The French and auxiliary troops will be pro-

vided by the Allied Powers with a ſufficient convoy for their ſafe return to France. After the embarkation of the French troops, the Allied Powers pledge themſelves, that, to the period of their arrival on the continent of the French Republic, they ſhall not be moleſted; and, on his part, the General of Diviſion, Belliard, and the troops under his command, engage that no act of hoſtility ſhall be by them committed, during the ſaid period, againſt the fleet or territories of his Britannic Majeſty, of the Sublime Porte, or of their Allies. The veſſels employed in conveying and eſcorting the ſaid troops, or other French ſubjects, ſhall not touch at any other than a French port, except in caſes of abſolute neceſſity. The commanders of the Britiſh, Ottoman, and French troops, enter, reciprocally, into the like engagements, during the period that the French troops remain in Egypt, from the ratification of the preſent Convention, to the moment of their embarkation. The General of Diviſion, Belliard, commanding the French and auxiliary troops on the part of his government, engages, that the veſſels employed for their conveyance and protection ſhall not be detained in the French ports after the diſembarkation of the troops; and that their commanders ſhall be at liberty to purchaſe, at their own expenſe, the proviſions that may be neceſſary for enabling them to return. General Belliard alſo engages, on the part of his government, that the ſaid veſſels ſhall not be moleſted on their return to the ports of the Allied Powers, provided they do not attempt, or are made ſubſervient to any military operations.

Art XI. All the adminiſtrations, the members of the commiſſion of Arts and Sciences, and, in ſhort, every perſon attached to the French army, ſhall enjoy the ſame advantages as the military. All the members of the ſaid adminiſtration, and of the Commiſſion of Arts and Sciences, ſhall alſo carry with them, not only all the papers relative to their miſſion, but alſo their private papers, as well as all other articles which have reference thereto.

Art. XII. All inhabitants of Egypt, of whatever nation they may be, who wiſh to follow the French troops, ſhall be at liberty ſo to do; nor ſhall their families, after their departure, be moleſted, or their goods confiſcated.

Art. XIII. No inhabitant of Egypt, of whatever religion, who may wiſh to follow the French troops, ſhall ſuffer, either in perſon or property, on account of the Convention, he may have entered into with the French during their continuance in Egypt, provided he conforms to the laws of the country.

Art. XIV. The ſick, who cannot bear a removal, ſhall be placed in a hoſpital, and attended by French medical and other attendants until their recovery, when they ſhall be ſent to France on the ſame conditions as the troops. The commanders of the Allied Armies engage to provide all the articles that may appear really neceſſary for this hoſpital: the advances to be made on this account ſhall be repaid by the French Government.

Art. XV. At the period when the towns and forts mentioned in the preſent Convention ſhall be delivered up, commiſſaries ſhall be named for receiving the ordnance, ammunition, magazines, papers, archives, plans, and other public effects, which the French ſhall leave in the poſſeſſion of the Allied Powers.

Art. XVI. A veſſel ſhall be provided as ſoon as poſſible by the naval commanders of the Allied Powers, in order, to convey to Toulon, an officer and a commiſſioner, charged with the conveyance of the preſent Convention to the French government.

Art. XVII. Every difficulty, or diſpute that may ariſe, reſpecting the execution of the preſent Convention, ſhall be determined in an amicable manner, by commiſſioners named on each part.

Art. XVIII. Immediately after the ratification of the preſent Convention, all the Engliſh or Ottoman priſoners at Cairo ſhall be ſet at liberty; and the Commander in

Chief of the Allied Powers, ſhall, in like manner, releaſe the French priſoners in their reſpective camps

Art. XIX. Officers of rank from the Engliſh army, from his Highneſs the Supreme Vizier, and from his Highneſs the Capitain Pacha, ſhall be exchanged for a like number of French officers of equal rank, to ſerve as hoſtages for the execution of the preſent Treaty. As ſoon as the French troops ſhall be landed in the ports of France, the hoſtages ſhall be reciprocally releaſed.

Art. XX. The preſent Convention ſhall be carried and communicated by a French officer to General Menou at Alexandria, and he ſhall be at liberty to accept of it for the French, and auxiliary forces (both naval and military) which may be with him at the above mentioned place, provided his acceptance of it ſhall be notified to the general commanding the Engliſh troops before Alexandria within ten days from the date of the communication being made.

Art. XXI. The preſent Convention ſhall be ratified by the Commander in Chief, of the reſpective armies within twenty-four hours after the ſignature thereof.

Signed in quadruplicate, at the place of conference between the two armies, on the 27th of June 1801, or at the ſiege of Jaffar 1216, on the 8th Meſſidor, ninth year of the French Republic.

(Signed) J. HOPF, Brigadier General.
OSMAN BEY.
ISAAC BEY.
DONGELAT, General de Brigade.
TARAYRE, Chief de Brigade.

Approved and ratified in the preſent Convention at Cairo, the 9th Meſſidor, ninth Year of the French Republic.

(Signed) BELLIARD, General de Diviſion.

This capitulation crowned the daring march, which General Hutchinſon's judgment planned and reſolution perſevered in. Its conqueſt ſecured Egypt,

and, without the moſt improbable misfortunes, the ſpeedy fall of Alexandria.

Perhaps, however, the terms granted to the French were too lenient. The fatigues, the perils, and hopes of the army, deſerved a better reward. They obtained, indeed, a ſingularly mild capitulation, more like what would be granted to one's own countrymen in a ſtate of rebellion, where humanity, policy, and every conſideration would dictate ſuch, than to a foreign and a rancorous enemy. It has been aſſerted, indeed, that the terms were as hard as we had any right to impoſe; more eſpecially, when the ſtrength of the garriſon of Cairo is conſidered, for the French commiſſary, (agreeably to the capitulation) demanded no leſs than ſeventeen thouſand daily rations! if we add to this the ſickly ſtate of the army, the advance of the ſeaſon, when the Nile overflows, and other conſiderations, they will be found materially to juſtify the leniency.

On the 6th of July the Grand Vizier reviewed his army, and the ſame day General Kleber's coffin was removed from Fort Ibrahim Bey, where it had been depoſited; the French army having reſolved to carry with them his remains to France. The Vizier arrived at the inſtant when the French commenced firing their minute guns, which the Engliſh artillery were directed to anſwer. "The French lines," ſays Sir R. Wilſon, preſented a gloomy ſcene of mourning; for, as at the obſequies of General Kleber, real ſorrow again agitated every heart. It was not the muffled beat, the trappings of ceremony, the impoſing ſtillneſs of parade, but the ſilent manlineſs of unaffected grief, which diffuſed the mournful ſolemnity. Every ſoldier, as the coffin paſſed, felt that

therein their benefactor's—a father's bones, repoſed; a leader, whoſe intrepidity had been their admiration and example; whoſe talents had often ſecured them the victory, and who, in the hour of diſtreſs, never abandoned them! the man, who, when Buonaparté deſerted them, cheered their deſponding ſpirits by his paternal exhortations, and whoſe exertions were conſtantly devoted to their welfare. They dwelt on his purity, they reflected on his fate, and Kleber became deified and adored. Had Buonaparté witneſſed this ſcene, he would have, himſelf, regretted, perhaps, the exclamation which he made, with indignant pride, when Kleber, wiſhing to heal up ſome differences which had exiſted between them, began his Letter with the fraternal term of, "*Camarade*"—"*Camarade! Camarade! Qu'eſt ce qu'il y a de commun entre Kleber et Moi?*"

"Fortunate it was for Buonaparté that the hand of an aſſaſſin deprived Kleber of life, his word was paſſed, his reſolution fixed, to take ample vengeance: nor did perſonal reſentment alone urge him: the public wrong he had alſo pledged himſelf to redreſs, neither would the aggrandizement of his rival have humiliated him by ſervile obſequiouſneſs and dereliction from his oath."

During the night of the 10th, the French evacuated Cairo, and ſent notice of their intention to Colonel Stuart. An arrangement had been previouſly made, that, when Cairo was taken poſſeſſion of, which was not expected before the morning of the 11th, a detachment of the Captain Pacha's body-guard ſhould enter alſo; but, as this early evacuation was not known till very late at night, the Quarter-maſter-general, who happened to be on the Eaſtern ſide, on

the emergency of the moment directed the 39th to march directly, and occupy the citadel. When the Captain Pacha knew this, he was extremely angry, and complained of being deceived, and he could scarcely be pacified by the representation of the circumstances.

On the 14th of July General Hutchinson presented the officers of each English regiment with a puncheon of Sicilian wine, which proved a most agreeable donation to them, for many had not tasted a drop of any kind since their leaving Alexandria; never, indeed, had an army before been so abstemious, and consequently, so well conducted.

On the 15th, at day break, the French totally evacuated Gizah, and, with the Allied Army, began their march for Rosetta. General Hutchinson remained at Cairo; not only being ill, but wishing to settle the arrangements for the government of Egypt, and reinstate the Mamelukes, as he was, by treaty, bound to effect.

This march was, perhaps, the most extraordinary ever made: the variety of nations which composed the armies, with all the relative circumstances, rendered it peculiarly interesting.

CHAPTER XIV.

Intelligence reaches General Hutchinſon of the Arrival of General Baird from India.—The Strength of his Army.—Vexation of Menou when he hears of the Capitulation of Cairo.—His Reaſons for wiſhing it to have held out longer.—The Army march for Alexandria, and General Hutchinſon prepares to beſiege that Town.—The Fort of Marabou ſtormed.—Summons of General Coote.—The Anſwer, and final Capitulation.—Further Operations of the Britiſh Army againſt Cairo.—Menou ſends his Aide-de-camp and propoſes to capitulate.—Terms propoſed.—Corrected by General Hutchinſon, and finally agreed on.

ON the 16th of July Lieutenant Budgin arrived from General Baird, with the intelligence of his having reached Cunei, with a diviſion of his army. General Baird had ſailed from India in the latter end of the month of December, with the view of co-operating with the army from Europe deſtined to invade Egypt; and a diviſion of troops from the Cape were ordered to join him in the Red Sea. His object was to land at Suez, and act according to thoſe circumſtances he ſhould become acquainted with there; ſince, at ſuch a diſtance, no poſitive operations could have been preſcribed: the hope was, however, always entertained that he would arrive in time to aſſiſt the European army, even in debarkation, by diverting the French force. Unfortunately, the monſoon had commenced before his entrance into the Red Sea, in the month of April, and it was found impoſſible to

gain his deſtination: but learning, at Jedda, the ſucceſſes of the Engliſh on the 21ſt of March, (which intelligence had been tranſmitted to him by Admiral Blanket) he determined to land at Coſſir, and brave the difficulties of the Deſart, in the hopes of affording a conſiderable ſupport to General Hutchinſon and contributing to the final conqueſt of the country.

On the 8th of June he arrived at Coſſir, and found Colonel Murray, the Adjutant-general, who had preceded him, and reached that port, with a very ſmall advanced guard, on the 14th of May; but the greater part of the army was ſtill miſſing, and none of the troops from the Cape had arrived: anxious, however, to promote the general ſervice, he employed himſelf in preparing the means for enabling his army to paſs the Deſart, in which he was aſſiſted by the Vizier's firmans; and, in a ſhort time, he found himſelf provided with 5,000 camels! Having made the neceſſary preparations, he ſet out for Cunei (or Kinnéh) where he arrived on the 30th of June, and immediately arranged the march of the remaining diviſions; facilitating their paſſage by eſtabliſhing poſts at the different wells in the Deſart and digging others. It was not till the latter end of July that his army had aſſembled, and, even then, ſeveral detachments were miſſing: the collected force, including the troops from the Cape, amounted to 5,226 rank and file, and was compoſed of the following regiments and corps:

Royal Artillery.
Bengal Horſe Artillery.
Ditto, Foot ditto.
Madras.
Bombay.

Royal Engineers.
Bengal ditto,
Madras ditto, } No men.
Bombay ditto,
Madras Pioneers.
His Majeſty's 8th Light Dragoons.
10th Foot.
6th ditto.
80th ditto.
86th ditto.
88th ditto.
Bengal Volunteers, native Infantry.
1ſt Bombay Regiment, ditto.
7th ditto, ditto.

The reſpective quotas furniſhed by the different eſtabliſhments to which theſe corps belonged is thus to be divided:

	Men.
Eaſt India Company's Artillery, &c.	448
Ditto, Native Troops	1,940
King's Troops	2,838
	5,226

To which muſt be added 271 Officers, of which 53 were Natives:

331 Serjeants.
125 Drummers.
440 Laſcars.
276 Servants, not Soldiers.
572 Public Followers.
305 Private ditto

2,320

Which makes a general total of 7,546 perſons, including ſick, &c.

We have been thus particular and minute, both here and at p. 115, in enumerating the exact number

of Britiſh forces employed upon this expedition, becauſe General Reynier has amaſſed ſuch numerous falſehoods upon this point, with a view to rob us of the glory of the campaign, by making it appear as if the French yielded neither to ſkill, judgment, nor bravery, but merely to an overwhelming ſuperiority of numbers. Connected, therefore, ſo intimately with national honour and character, even the dry details of the number of drummers and ſerjeants become intereſting, and ſerve at once to convey a juſt ſenſe of our own achievements and to defeat the poor malice of our enemies.

General Hutchinſon found himſelf compelled to order General Baird to proceed to Cairo; although he much wiſhed to have allowed of his re-embarkation with his army, as there were other very important objects for that body of troops to be employed upon: but there was every reaſon to ſuppoſe that the French would attempt to throw ſtrong ſuccours into Egypt, and he did not, therefore, think himſelf juſtified in riſking the departure of ſuch a conſiderable force.

Meanwhile the French army who had evacuated Cairo continued on their march towards Roſetta, and, when they arrived at Dercut, the French paſſed the Engliſh, in order to be ready for their embarkation. The real effective ſtate of this army was then aſcertained, as the principal Engliſh officers poſted themſelves at a narrow paſs to ſee them file by: they could ſcarcely, however, credit their own ſight, when they beheld an army of above 10,000 men, with 50 pieces of artillery, and its complement of ammunition, defile before them, independently of the guards, &c. in the dgerms! They then fully felt the wiſdom of the Capitulation of Cairo, with all its leniency, when they

connected this army with various local difficulties, that the approaching ſeaſon would produce.

On the 29th of July General Hutchinſon (who had received at Cairo the letter announcing his Majeſty's high approbation of his conduct, and of his being decorated with the Order of the Bath) arrived at Roſetta: he came in a barge provided by the Vizier. The General, on quitting Cairo, conceived that every proper arrangement had been made for the government of Egypt, and he left the Mamelukes impreſſed with gratitude towards him. His health being extremely bad, he was obliged to go on board Lord Keith's ſhip, in the hopes of ſea air recovering him; and where he propoſed to remain until the Engliſh army of Cairo joined General Coote before Alexandria.

General Menou had been made acquainted with the ſurrender of Cairo on the 7th of July: this intelligence he received with the greateſt vexation, as he wiſhed General Belliard to have held out, on three probable chances of relief.—Firſt, The landing of the ſuccours, which Admiral Gantheaume was endeavouring to throw in, might have changed the aſpect of affairs. It is true, the Heliopolis corvette had announced, on the 19th of May, that the French fleet had been within 30 leagues of the coaſt, when a convoy was ſeen paſſing, which the French admiral miſtaking for the Engliſh fleet, cut his cables and bore away, but his return might ſtill be expected.—Secondly, The negotiations for peace were known to be commenced, and a favourable iſſue expected to them.—Thirdly, The riſing of the Nile was a guarantee, that, beyond a certain period, the ſiege could not be carried on.

The army from Cairo having joined that before Alexandria, General Hutchinſon arrived on the 15th Auguſt, and determined immediately to beſiege Alexandria on the Eaſtern and Weſtern fronts, an army of ſixteen thouſand effective men being under his command. There had been no poſſibility to commence operations ſooner, for all the boats had been occupied in embarking the French; and as both the corps, to the Eaſtward and Weſtward, were to depend on the fleet for daily ſupplies, two ſuch important objects required their whole ſervice.

On the evening of the 16th, the boats having aſſembled in the inundation, immediately on the left of the poſition, the diviſion of the army, in all about 4,000 men, embarked and ſailed.

The inſtructions of the left column were, to ſtorm The Green Hill, on the right of the French line, and on the right to occupy The Nole Hill, about a quarter of a mile in front of the French left, for the object of reconnoitring. General Doyle moved forwards; the 30th regiment directing itſelf againſt the work on the left of The Green Hill; the 50th to that on the right; and the 92d had orders to remain in reſerve at an intermediate point, at the baſe of the Nile.

Very little oppoſition was made, and the troops took poſſeſſion of the works, which proved open batteries, the artillery of which had been previouſly removed.

General Moore had alſo advanced on the right, and occupied, with the Loweſtein Chaſſeurs, The Nole Hill: the reſiſtance he had met with was alſo trifling, although the French were on the *alerte* during the night, from a cannonade which was kept up from

the Pharos againſt ſome Engliſh boats ſtanding in cloſe to the harbour.

As ſoon, however, as the French found their picquets attacked, fearing a general aſſault, they beat to arms, and immediately began a heavy fire from their works, which continued, without intermiſſion, three hours.

At ſeven o'clock a body of French, to the amount of 600, unexpectedly, appeared on the right of their poſition, whence they advanced rapidly againſt The Green Hill and the poſt partially poſſeſſed by the 30th.

General Coote had wiſhed to diſembark between Marabou and Alexandria; but, perceiving a corps of the enemy on that part of the iſthmus, he left, oppoſite to them, General Finch's brigade, to make a feint, while he ſtood on with the remainder about three miles farther, where, without any oppoſition, he landed.

A poſition was immediately taken up to cover the ſiege of Marabou. In the night of the 18th General Coote having, with the unremitting exertions of the officers of artillery, eſtabliſhed two batteries with mortars, and three 24-pounders in them, againſt Fort Marabou, directed the bombardment to commence. The celerity with which the guns had been brought up was a remarkable effort of zeal, as they had to be carried over almoſt inacceſſible rocks, in which vaſt quarries were hewn out, as is ſuppoſed, for the building of the ancient Alexandria.

The breadth of the iſthmus from the lake to Marabou is about half a mile; the Iſlet of Marabou is ſituated at the Weſtern extremity of the harbour, and, commanding one of the channels, is ſeparated from

the continent by a reef of rocks, of a hundred and fifty yards in extent, which, except directly in the centre, is fordable.

The French had conſtructed a very ſtrong regular fort on this iſlet, round a tower, formerly a moſque; but the length of the iſlet not being above three hundred yards, and its breadth one hundred and fifty, ſhot could ſweep over the whole. About 12'oclock on the day of the 20th, the tower of Marabou fell. As the fall of the tower might be ſuppoſed, probably, to have filled up the ditch of the fort, and, in that caſe, rendered an aſſault practicable, four companies of the 54th were ordered to be in readineſs for that ſervice; and, at the ſame time, General Coote, wiſhing to ſpare the effuſion of blood, ſent Colonel Duncan with the following Summons to the French Commandant, who, at firſt, heſitated to capitulate; but, on Colonel Duncan's repreſenting to him the certain fate which awaited his garriſon, if he refuſed to ſurrender, and, particularly, as he could not regularly defend the place, he, at laſt, conſented.

SUMMONS OF THE FORT OF MARABOU.

"SIR, Camp, 21ſt Aug. 1801.

"As, after the event of this day, and the means employed againſt the fort you command, there remain no hopes of your being able to defend it, or even to retire into Alexandria; I ſummon you, in the name of Humanity, to ſurrender on the terms which ſhall be granted you; otherwiſe you will be anſwerable for all the conſequences that may enſue; being determined to employ the whole of the Britiſh and Ottoman forces under my command to compel you to ſurrender.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) "EYRE COOTE, Major General."

"To the Officer commanding Fort Marabou."

To this was returned the following

ANSWER:

" Fort Marabou, 3d Fructidor, Aug. 9th, (1801.)

" SIR,

" I have the honour to lay before you the Terms of Capitulation, which the garriſon of Marabou require; and, from the generoſity which characterzies your nation, I promiſe myſelf that you will agree to them.

" I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) " ETIENNE."

CAPITULATION OF THE FORT OF MARABOU.

Art. I. The garriſon demand to march out with the honours of war.—Anſwer. The garriſon ſhall march out with the honours of war, and, after having grounded their arms on the glacis, ſhall be priſoners of war.

Art. II. They ſhall preſerve their baggage.—Anſwer. Granted.

Art. III. The officers ſhall have their ſwords and ſabres.—Anſwer. Granted.

Art. IV. The garriſon ſhall be conveyed into France, and treated, during the voyage, each agreeably to his rank, conformably to the maritime laws of England.—Anſwer. Anſwered by the firſt article; the garriſon ſhall be conveyed to France, but ſhall not ſerve till they are exchanged.

Art. V. Such individuals as may have effects at Alexandria ſhall have full permiſſion to bring them away.—Anſwer. Granted, with the reſtrictions that ſhall be made with the officers commanding the land and ſea forces of England.

Art. VI. An officer ſhall be ſent from the garriſon to the Commander in Chief, to communicate to him the preſent Capitulation.—Anſwer. A French officer ſhall be ſent to Alexandria by ſea. A detachment of Britiſh forces ſhall take poſſeſſion of the Fort of Marabou, immediately after the Ratification of the preſent Capitulation. The gar-

riſon ſhall march out to-morrow morning, and, after having depoſited their arms on the glacis, ſhall be embarked in Engliſh veſſels.

Done at Fort Marabou, the 3d Fructidor, the 9th Year of the French Republic.

(Signed) ETIENNE, the Chief of Battalion.

Ratified, conformably to the perſon delegated to me by Major General Coote, and Captain Cochrane of the Royal Navy.

(Signed) CHRIS. DARBY, Lieut. 54th Regt.

The fort, when taken poſſeſſion of, was found in ruins, the tower had filled up one ditch; yet ſtill the aſſault would have been difficult, for another deep ditch croſſed the iſlet, and the works were very ſtrong. The number of cannon taken in the place amounted to ten pieces, all of which were indented with the muſquetry of the 54th. The number of priſoners was 168.

On the morning of the 23d General Hutchinſon paſſed over to the Weſtward, in order to examine the ſtate of the fortifications on that ſide; as he was returning in the evening to his camp the French fired a few ſhot at his boat, without effect. In the evening of the 24th, an aide-du-camp of General Menou brought in a Letter, addreſſed to General Hutchinſon. As this was the firſt communication General Menou had ever permitted by land, the ſuppoſition was univerſal that he wiſhed to ſurrender. The Letter proved to be only compl mentary, for the humanity ſhewn to his wounded officers and ſoldiers, a recommendation of the garriſon of Marabou to a brave and loyal army; concluding with a requeſt for the admiſſion of his brother-in-law into Alexandria, and ſome trunks, belonging to his wife. This

Letter, although not containing the expected intelligence, was considered, with confidence, as a preliminary.

Various movements were made by different parts of the British army; that under the command of General Coote was particularly active after the capture of Fort Marabou. On the morning of the 26th the English batteries at the Eastward side on The Green Hill opened against the right of the French position, particularly playing against the small redoubt which covered the bridge, and the right battery of the line, which exposed seven embrasures, whilst, at the same time, the English gun-boats attacked them in the flank. The French fire was soon silenced; and, about mid-day, finding that they had withdrawn their guns, the English batteries ceased to play.

An interesting accident happened early this morning. An old man, working on the parapet of a redoubt, was struck by a cannon-ball, which took off both his legs: he fell into the arms of his own son, a corporal in the same regiment!

In the evening the first aid-du-camp of General Menou came with a Letter, to demand an armistice for three days, in which time he might draw up Articles of Capitulation This proposition was agreed to, and an arrangement made, that, notwithstanding hostilities should immediately cease, the date of the armistice was only to commence from the moment the French fired three unshotted guns, to be answered by three from the British, when the colours of both armies were to be lowered from the flag-staff, which ceremony was to take palce at twelve o'clock the next day.

An officer was immediately dispatched by General Coote, who arrived in time to prevent his making a lodgment on the hill above Pompey's Pillar, a post of considerable importance.

On the 27th Colonel Montresor arrived from the Indian Army, with the intelligence that General Baird would reach Rosetta in a day or two. This army was destined to arrive too late throughout the whole of the Egyptian War. How it happened that so large body of men, thus put in motion at a considerable expense, should only dance in the shadow of the enterprise; it were worth while to inquire, for certainly, somewhere, there must have been neglect and mismanagement.

On the 29th General Menou's aid-du-camp came in from the enemy; but, instead of bringing Articles of Capitulation, he proposed a continuation of the armistice for thirty-six hours. General Hutchinson, much incensed at this paltry prevarication, wrote back, that he should direct hostilities to re-commence at twelve at night, and orders to this effect were sent to General Coote. At nine o'clock, however, the aid-du-camp returned, with an assurance that proposals should be sent by two o'clock the next day, which offer was accepted, and an officer dispatched to the Westward with counter-orders. An aid-du-camp and a *chef-de-brigade*, the next day, at one o'clock, arrived at head-quarters, bearing the following Articles of Capitulation, many of which were refused, yet the intention to surrender was unequivocally confirmed: indeed, no doubt could remain, after Captain Marley, on the evening of the day before, had been conducted into the French lines with

Madame Menou's baggage, which he delivered to General Rampon.

At eleven at night, the aid-du-camp returned with the Articles, agreed to as corrected by General Hutchinſon. The next day General Hope went into Alexandria to ſign the Capitulation, General Menou received him with every mark of attention, and invited him to dinner. The repaſt was only *horſe-fieſh!*

On the morning of September 2nd Lord Keith came on ſhore, to ratify the terms; and a Capitulation was concluded, which embraced every deſirable object, without unneceſſarily degrading the conquered. General Menou was certainly entitled to every conſideration which a brave, but unfortunate officer, has a right to expect from a generous enemy: and General Hutchinſon knew well how to appretiate a conduct which had been ſo honourable, and to accede every indulgence not incompatible with the intereſts of his country and credit of the army. Policy obtained from him the terms of Cairo, and the nobleſt of motives induced his conſent to theſe. In both, however, in our opinion, General Hutchinſon diſplayed a very ſmall ſhare of diplomatic ſkill: of him, indeed, it might be ſaid, he knew how to win by the ſword and to loſe by the pen.

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION,

Propoſed by ABDALLAH JAQUES FRANCOIS MENOU, *General in Chief of the French Army now in Alexandria, to the Generals commanding the Land and Sea Forces of his* BRITANNIC MAJESTY *and of the* SUBLIME PORTE, *forming the Blockade of Alexandria; dated the 12th Fructidor, 9th Year of the* FRENCH REPUBLIC (*30th Auguſt*, 1801.)

Art. I, From the preſent date to the 30th Fructidor

(17th September) there shall be a continuation of the truce and suspension of arms between the French Army and the Combined Armies of his Britannic Majesty and of the Sublime Porte, upon the same conditions with those which actually subsist, with the exception of a regulation, to be amicably settled between the respective generals of the two Armies, for establishing a new line of advanced posts, in order to remove all pretexts of hostility between the troops. —Answer. Refused.

Art. II. In case no adequate succour should arrive to the French Army before the day mentioned in the preceding Article, that army shall evacuate the forts and intrenched camps of Alexandria upon the following conditions. —Answer. Refused.

Art. III. The French Army shall retire, on the first complimentary day of the French era, into the city of Alexandria and forts adjacent, and shall deliver up to the Allied Powers the intrenched camp in front of the lines of the Arabs, the fort Le Turc and the fort Du Vivier, together with their artillery and ammunition.—Answer. In forty-eight hours after the signing of the Capitulation; namely, on the 2d September, at noon, the intrenched camp, the fort Tine, and that of Du Vivier, shall be delivered up to the Allied Powers; the ammunition and artillery of these forts shall be also delivered up. The French troops shall evacuate the city, forts, and dependencies of Alexandria, ten days after signing the Capitulation, or at the time of their embarkation.

Art IV. All individuals constituting a part of the French Army, or attached to it by any relations, civil or military; the auxiliary troops, of every nation, country, or religion, to whatever powers they might have been subject before the arrival of the French, shall preserve their property, of every description, their effects, papers, &c. &c. which shall not be subject to any examination.—Answer. Granted; provided that nothing be carried away belonging to the Government of the French Republic, but only the effects, baggage and other articles belonging to

the French and auxiliary ſoldiers who have ſerved during ſix months in the army of the Republic: the ſame is to be underſtood of all the individuals attached to the French Army by civil or military capacities, of whatever nation, country, or religion they may be.

Art. V. The French forces, the auxiliary troops, and all the individuals deſcribed in the preceding Article, ſhall be embarked in the ports of Alexandria between the 5th and 10th of Vendemaire, year 10th of the Republic, at the latest (27th September to the 3d October 1801) together with their arms, ſtores, baggage, effects, and property of all kinds, official papers and depoſits, one field-piece to each battalion and ſquadron, with ammunition, &c. &c. &c.; the whole to be conveyed to one of the ports of the French Republic in the Mediterranean, to be determined by the General in Chief of the French Army.—Anſwer. The French forces, the auxiliary troops, and all the individuals deſcribed in the Fourth Article, ſhall be embarked in the ports of Alexandria (unleſs, after an amicable convention, it ſhould be found more expeditious to embark a part of them at Aboukir) as ſoon as veſſels can be prepared; the Allied Powers at the ſame time engaging that the embarkation ſhall take place (if poſſible) ten days after the Capitulation ſhall be ſigned: they ſhall receive all the honours of war; ſhall carry away their arms and baggage; ſhall not be priſoners of war; and ſhall, moreover, take with them ten pieces of cannon, from four to eight pounders, with ten rounds of ſhot to each gun: they ſhall be conveyed to a French port in the Mediterranean.

Art. VI. The French ſhips of war, with their full complement, and all merchant ſhips, to whatever nation or individuals they may belong; even thoſe of nations at war with the Allied Powers, or thoſe that are the property of owners or merchants who were ſubjects of the Allied Powers before the arrival of the French, ſhall depart with the French Army, in order that thoſe which are ſhips of war may be reſtored to the French Government, and their merchant ſhips to their owners or to their aſſignees.—

Anſwer.—Refuſed: all veſſels ſhall be delivered up as they are.

Art. VII. Every ſingle ſhip that, from the preſent day to the 30th Fructidor, ſhall arrive from the French Republic, or any of her Allies, into the ports or roads of Alexandria, ſhall be comprehended in this Capitulation. Every ſhip of war or commerce belonging to France, or to the Allies of the Republic, that ſhall arrive in the port or road of Alexandria within the twenty days immediately following the evacuation of that place ſhall not be conſidered as a lawful prize, but ſhall be ſet at liberty, with her equipage and cargo, and be furniſhed with a paſsport from the Allied Powers.—Anſwer. Refuſed.

Art. VIII. The French and Auxiliary troops, the civil and military agents attached to the army, and all other individuals deſcribed in the preceding Articles, ſhall be embarked on board ſome French, or other veſſels, actually in the ports of Alexandria, as ſhall be in a condition to go to ſea, or on board thoſe of his Britannic Majeſty and of the Sublime Porte, within the time fixed by the Fifth Article.

Art. IX. Commiſſioners ſhall be named by each party to regulate the number of veſſels to be employed, the number of men to be embarked upon them, and, generally, to provide for all the difficulties that may ariſe in carrying into execution the preſent Capitulation: thoſe Commiſſioners ſhall agree upon the different poſitions which ſhall be taken by the ſhips now in the port of Alexandria and thoſe which ſhall be furniſhed by the Allied Powers, ſo that, by a well regulated arrangement, every occaſion of difference between the crews of the ſeveral nations may be avoided.—Anſwer. All theſe details will be regulated by the Engliſh Admiral and by an officer of the French Navy, named by the General in Chief.

Art. X. Merchants and owners of ſhips, of whatever nation or religion they may be, and alſo the inhabitants of Egypt, and of every other country, who may at the preſent time be in Alexandria; whether Syrians, Copts, Greeks,

Arabs, Jews, &c. and who ſhall be deſirous of following the French Army, ſhall be embarked with and enjoy the ſame advantages with that army: they ſhall be at liberty to remove their property, of all kinds, and to leave power for the diſpoſal of what they may not be able to take away: all arrangements, all ſales, all ſtipulations, whether of commerce or of any other nature, made by them, ſhall be ſtrictly carried into effect after their departure, and be maintained by the generals of his Britannic Majeſty and of the Sublime Porte. Thoſe who may prefer remaining in Egypt a certain time, on account of their private affairs, ſhall be at liberty ſo to do, and ſhall have full protection from the Allied Powers: thoſe alſo who may be deſirous of eſtabliſhing themſelves in Egypt ſhall be entitled to all the privileges and rights of which they were in poſſeſſion before the arrival of the French.—Anſwer. Every article of merchandiſe, whether in the town of Alexandria or on board the veſſels that are in the ports, ſhall be proviſionally at the diſpoſition of the Allied Powers; but ſubject to ſuch definitive regulations as may be determined by eſtabliſhed uſage and the law of nations. Private merchants ſhall be at liberty to follow the French Army, or they may remain in the country in ſecurity.

Art. XI. None of the inhabitants of Egypt, or of any other nation or religion, ſhall be called to account for their conduct during the period of the French troops having been in the country; particularly, for having taken arms in their favour or having been employed by them.—Anſwer. Granted.

Art. XII. The troops, and all others who may be embarked with them, ſhall be fed, during their paſſage and until their arrival in France, at the expenſe of the Allied Powers, and conformably to the rules of the French navy. The Allied Powers ſhall ſupply every thing that may be neceſſary for the embarkation.—Anſwer. The troops, and all others who may be embarked with them, ſhall be fed during their paſſage and until their arrival in France, at

the expenſe of the Allied Powers, according to the uſage eſtabliſhed in the marine of England.

Art. XIII. The Conſuls, and all other public agents of the ſeveral powers in alliance with the French Republic, ſhall continue in the enjoyment of all the privileges and rights which are granted by civilized nations to diplomatic agents. Their property, all their effects, and papers, ſhall be reſpected, and placed under the protection of the Allied Powers; they ſhall be at liberty to retire or to remain, as they may think fit.—Anſwer. The Conſuls, and all other public agents of the powers in alliance with the French Republic, ſhall be at liberty to remain or to retire, as they may judge fit. Their property, and effects of any kind, together with their papers, ſhall be preſerved for them, provided they conduct themſelves with loyalty, and conformably to the law of nations.

Art. XIV. The ſick, who may be judged by the medical ſtaff of the army to be in a ſtate for removal, ſhall be embarked at the ſame time with the army, upon hoſpital ſhips, properly furniſhed with medicines, proviſions, and every other ſtore that may be neceſſary for their ſituation; and they ſhall be attended by French ſurgeons. Thoſe of the ſick who may not be in a condition to undertake the voyage, ſhall be delivered over to the care and humanity of the Allied Powers. French phyſicians, and other medical aſſiſtance, ſhall be left for their care, to be maintained at the expenſe of the Allied Powers, who ſhall ſend them to France as ſoon as their ſtate of health will permit, together with any thing belonging to them, in the ſame manner as has been propoſed for the reſt of the army.—Anſwer. Granted. The ſhips deſtined for hoſpitals ſhall be prepared for the reception of thoſe who may fall ſick during the paſſage. The medical ſtaff of the two armies ſhall concert together in what manner to diſpoſe of thoſe of the ſick, who, having contagious diſorders, ought not to have communication with the others.

Art. XV. Horſe tranſports for conveying ſixty horſes,

with everything neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence during the paſſage, ſhall be furniſhed.—Anſwer. Granted.

Art. XVI. The individuals compoſing the Inſtitute of Egypt, and the Commiſſion of Arts, ſhall carry with them all the papers. plans, memoirs, collections of natural hiſtory, and all the monuments of art and antiquity, collected by them in Egypt.—Anſwer. The Members of the Inſtitute may carry with them all the inſtruments of arts and ſcience which they have brought from France; but the Arabian M.S.S. the ſtatues, and other collections which have been made for the French Republic, ſhall be conſidered as public property, and ſubject to the diſpoſal of the generals of the Combined Army.

[General Hope having declared, in conſequence of ſome obſervations of the Commander in Chief of the French army, that he could make no alteration in this Article, it has been agreed that a reference thereupon ſhould be made to the Commander in Chief of the Combined Army.]

Art. XVII. The veſſels which ſhall be employed in conveying the French and auxiliary army, as well as the different perſons who ſhall accompany it, ſhall be eſcorted by ſhips of war belonging to the Allied Powers, who formally engage, that they ſhall not, in any manner, be moleſted during the voyage: the ſafety of ſuch of theſe veſſels as may be ſeparated by ſtreſs of weather, or other accidents, ſhall be guaranteed by the generals of the Allied Forces: the veſſels conveying the French Army ſhall not, under any pretence, touch at any other than the French coaſt, except in caſe of abſolute neceſſity.—Anſwer. Granted. The Commander in Chief of the French army, entering into a reciprocal engagement, that none of thoſe veſſels ſhall be moleſted during their ſtay in France, or on their return; he equally engaging that they ſhall be furniſhed with every thing which may be neceſſary, according to the conſtant practice of European Powers.

Art. XVIII. At the time of giving up the camps and forts, according to the terms of the Third Article, the pri-

ſoners in Egypt ſhall be reſpectively given up on both ſides. —Anſwer. Granted.

Art. XIX. Commiſſioners ſhall be named to receive the artillery of the place, and of the forts, ſtores, magazines, plans, and other articles, that the French leave to the Allied Powers; and liſts and inventories ſhall be made out, ſigned by the commiſſaries of the different powers, according as the forts and magazines ſhall be given up to the Allied Powers.—Anſwer. Granted; provided that all the plans of the city, and forts of Alexandria, as well as all maps of the country, ſhall be delivered up to the Engliſh Commiſſary. The batteries, ciſterns, and other public buildings, ſhall alſo be given up, in the condition in which they actually are.

Art. XX. A paſsport ſhall be granted to a French armed veſſel, in order to convey to Toulon, immediately after the camps and forts before mentioned ſhall be given up, officers, charged by the Commander in Chief to carry to his government the preſent Capitulation — Anſwer. Granted. But, if it is a French veſſel, it ſhall not be armed.

Art. XXI. On giving up the camps and forts mentioned in the preceding Articles, hoſtages ſhall be given on both ſides, in order to guarantee the execution of the preſent Treaty. They ſhall be choſen from among the officers of rank in the reſpective armies; namely, four from the French army, two from the Britiſh troops, and two from the troops of the Sublime Porte. The four French hoſtages ſhall be embarked on board the Engliſh ſhips commanding the ſquadron; and the four Britiſh and Turkiſh hoſtages on board one of the veſſels which ſhall carry the Commander in Chief, or the Lieutenant-generals. They ſhall all be reciprocally delivered up on their arrival in France.—Anſwer. There ſhall be placed in the hands of the Commander in Chief of the French Army, four officers of rank, as hoſtages, viz. one officer of the Navy, one officer of the Britiſh Army, and two officers of the Turkiſh Army. The Commander in Chief, ſhall, in like manner,

place in the hands of the Commander in Chief of the Britiſh army four officers of rank. The hoſtages ſhall be reſtored on both ſides at the period of the embarkation.

Art. XXII. If any difficulties ſhould ariſe during the execution of the preſent Capitulation, they ſhall be amicably ſettled by the Commiſſaries of the armies.—Anſwer. Granted.

(Signed) KEITH, Admiral.
J. HELY HUTCHINSON, Lieutenant General, Commander in Chief.
HUSSIM, Captain Pacha.
ABDALLAH JACQUES FRANCOIS MENOU, General in Chief of the French Army.
JAMES KEMPT, Lieutenant-colonel and Secretary.

Such were the terms granted by our victorious army to Menou and the French: they were abundantly more favourably than circumſtances authoriſed; and it muſt juſtly excite our wonder, that this ſame general, who ſo contemptuouſly rejected the propoſals for the evacuation of Egypt, after the battle of the 21ſt; that this very Menou, who ſo pompouſly avowed his determination to bury himſelf beneath the ruins of Alexandria, ſhould propoſe to capitulate without ſuſtaining the ſhadow of ſiege, or riſking any deciſive action! Humanity, certainly, applauds a termination ſo free from bloodſhed; but a warlike mind feels contempt as it beholds ſuch vain and empty boaſting, unvouched by a ſingle deed.

CHAPTER XV.

Summary of the remaining Operations in Egypt.—State of Menou's Army.—Stores of Alexandria at the Time of Capitulation.—Strength of the French, and the wilful Perverſions of Reynier on the Subject.—Diſpatch of General Hutchinſon.—High Opinion of the Porte of the Britiſh Character.—Differences between Menou and General Hutchinſon reſpecting the Antiquities to be taken away from Egypt.—How adjuſted.—The French embark for France.—Loſs in the Expedition.

WE ſhall give a ſummary of the remaining operations of the two armies.

On the 3d of September the Quartermaſter-general went into the French lines, to be ſhewn the mines and the different forts to be occupied; and at eleven o'clock the grenadiers of the army, in three columns, with drums beating, colours flying, and a proportion of field-pieces, marched to take poſſeſſion of their poſition.

The French had been under arms every night ſince the ſiege began; nor could relief to the ſeverity of the ſervice be expected or ſolicited, under the circumſtances which preſſed: no one, however indolent, could have wiſhed, in ſuch a deſperate ſituation, to leave the poſt of danger.

General Menou's force did not juſtify any longer that inactive reſiſtance which he adopted: he had under him brave men, who, notwithſtanding they were abandoned to themſelves, remained faithful to their duty; who had ſeen their comrades paſs gaily

by them, returning to that native country for which they had all so languished, and who yet betrayed no symptom of disaffection or intolerance at their situation. Worn out by fatigue, exposed daily to an unserviceable destruction, they still executed the commands and relied on the judgment of their leader; it became, therefore, his sacred duty to preserve them when his country could no longer be benefited by their perseverance; and, under these circumstances, his extravagant boast and his other conduct were so much the more empty and ridiculous.

There is no foundation, however, for saying that there was only a few days water in Alexandria, as General Reynier asserts: for, with a very little supply, the water in the tanks lasted the English till the month of February following.

Alexandria was defended by 312 pieces of cannon, chiefly brass, and 77 were found in the ships of war, many of which had been put on board latterly. In the powder magazines were left 14,102 filled gun-cartridges and 195,218 lbs of powder in barrels.

Nothing, as we before observed, can be uninteresting relative to the mutual strength of the two armies, when we consider what have been the constant perversions of Reynier upon this subject, and with what disgraceful assiduity he has laboured to persuade Europe, that the French magnanimously resisted torrents of armed troops, and, in fact, like Sir John Falstaff, had whole countless armies in buckram jackets, to oppose! It is thus that he would rob us of the fair laurels we have gained, and tear from the hand of courage and discipline its well-earned honours, to place them on the sterile brow of gigantic disproportion. Did General Reynier feel with the true dig-

nity of a ſoldier, he would diſdain to rob even his enemy of their juſt honours.

The return of the garriſon of Alexandria, as given in by General Menou, was as follows, excluſive of women and children:

RETURN

Of the Garriſon of ALEXANDRIA, *which ſurrendered September 1ſt*, 1801.

	Men.
Cavalry and Infantry, including Officers and Non-commiſſioned Officers	5,965
Artillery, ditto, ditto	799
Corps of Dromedaries, Syrians, Horſe and Foot Guides, together	278
Marine Artillery	290
Sappers and Miners	139
Artificers	122
Seamen doing duty in garriſon	1,230
Greeks	118
Invalids	240
Sick	1,387
Total Military ...	10,528

CIVIL DEPARTMENT.

Officers and Attendants of General Hoſpital	238
Army Commiſſariats	95
Marine Commiſſariats	196
Geographical Engineers	9
Commiſſion of Arts and Sciences	47
Clerks of the National Treaſury	17
Civilians and Merchants	83
Grand Total ...	11,213

When this force is conſidered, let it be confeſſed, that Menou, intrenched within a fortified town, capi-

tulated diſhonourably, as a military man: and let it alſo be confeſſed, that the victory of the 21ſt was one that will reflect perpetual honour on the Britiſh arms.

The city of Alexandria is very ſmall; the population never exceeded 6,900 ſouls, and, ſince the arrival of the French, it is conſiderably diminiſhed. The houſes being all white, the general appearance of the city is more lively than of any other in Egypt.

On September the 5th Sir Sidney Smith and Colonel Abercrombie embarked on board the Carmine with the diſpatches for England: the ſelection of theſe officers was an honourable trait of feeling and conſideration. We cannot better convey an adequate idea of the ſervices performed by our countrymen during this expedition, than by giving here the very words of Lord Hutchinſon:

"This arduous and important ſervice has, at length, been brought to a concluſion. The exertions of individuals have been ſplendid and meritorious: I regret that the bounds of a Diſpatch will not allow me to ſpecify the whole, or to mention the name of every perſon who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the public ſervice. I have received the greateſt ſupport and aſſiſtance from the general officers of the army: the conduct of the troops, of every deſcription, has been exemplary in the higheſt degree; there has been much to applaud and nothing to reprehend: their order and regularity in the camp have been as conſpicuous as their courage in the field. To the Quarter-maſter-general, Lieutenant-colonel Anſtruther, I owe much, for his unwearied induſtry and zeal in the public ſervice, and for the aid, advice, and co-operation, which

he has, at all times, afforded me. Brigadier-general Lawſon, who commanded the artillery, and Captain Brice, the chief engineer, have both great merit in their different departments. The local ſituation of Egypt preſents obſtacles of a moſt ſerious kind to military operations on an extended ſcale; the ſkill and perſeverance of theſe two officers have overcome difficulties which, at firſt ſight, have appeared almoſt inſurmountable.

"Lieutenant-colonel Lindenthal, who has always acted with the Turks, deſerves alſo my utmoſt acknowledgements: his activity and diligence have been unremitted, and he has introduced amongſt them an order and regularity which does him the higheſt honour.

"During the courſe of the long ſervice on which we have been engaged, Lord Keith has, at all times, given me the moſt able aſſiſtance and counſel. The labour and fatigues of the navy have been continued and exceſſive—it has not been of one day, or of one week, but for months together! In the Bay of Aboukir, on the New Inundation, and on the Nile, for 160 miles, they have been employed without intermiſſion, and have ſubmitted to many privations with a cheerfulneſs and patience highly creditable to them and advantageous to the public ſervice.

"Sir Sidney Smith had, originally, the command of the ſeamen who landed from the fleet; he continued on ſhore till after the capture of Roſetta, and returned on board the Tigre a ſhort time before the appearance of Admiral Gantheaume's ſquadron on the coaſt: he was preſent in the three actions of the 8th, 13th, and 21ſt of March; when he diſplayed that ardour of mind for the ſervice of his country, and

that noble intrepidity, for which he has ever been ſo conſpicuous.

"Captain Stevenſon, of the Europa, ſucceeded him, and I have every reaſon to be ſatisfied with his zeal and conduct. The crews of the gunboats diſplayed great gallantry, under his guidance, in the New Inundation; and much approbation is alſo due to the naval officers who acted under his orders.

"Captain Preſland, of the Regulus, has had the direction, for many months paſt, of all Greek ſhips in our employment and of thoſe belonging to the Commiſſariat: he has been active, zealous, and indefatigable, and merits my warmeſt approbation; I muſt, therefore, beg leave particularly to recommend this old and meritorious officer to your Lordſhip's protection.

"Allow me to expreſs an humble hope, that the army in Egypt have gratified the warmeſt wiſhes and expectations of their country: to them every thing is due, and to me nothing! It was my fate to ſucceed a man who created ſuch a ſpirit, and eſtabliſhed ſuch diſcipline among them, that little has been left to me to perform, except to follow his maxims and to endeavour to imitate his conduct.

"This Diſpatch will be delivered to your Lordſhip by Colonel Abercrombie, an officer of conſiderable ability, and worthy of the great name which he bears: he will, one day, I truſt, emulate the virtue and talents of his never to be ſufficiently lamented Father!"

It is impoſſible not to be ſtruck with this ſimple, manly, and energetic Account of this brilliant Expedition: and how far ſuperior does this modeſt, unaſſuming detail appear, in the eyes of ſober reaſon,

to the inflated, pompous, mock-heroic, and often falſe diſpatches, of the French generals, during the Revolutionary War!

On September 6th Mr. Hutchinſon was ſent to Conſtantinople with the diſpatches, by the particular wiſh of the Captain Pacha. The inhabitants of Conſtantinople conſidered the ſurrender of Alexandria as the termination of the war in Egypt, and manifeſted on the occaſion the moſt enthuſiaſtic joy: the cannon of the Seraglio were fired; the city was ſplendidly illuminated; and the Sultan ordered fifty gold medals to be ſtruck, bearing a creſcent and ſtar in the centre, with a ſuitable inſcription, to be diſtributed among the Engliſh officers in Egypt, to ſeveral of whom the Grand Vizier, in the name of his ſovereign, had before made both honourable and valuable preſents. A magnificent palace was built in Pera, and dedicated to the future reſidence, in all times to come, of the Engliſh Ambaſſador at the Ottoman Porte. How much is it to be regretted that this high character, which our nation enjoyed among the Turks, ſhould be forfeited, a few years hence, by a flagrant breach of juſtice! At the time we are writing this, (November 1807) it is ſaid that our ambaſſador is not permitted to enter Conſtantinople! In the midſt of peace, without any provocation whatever on the part of Turkey, we have attacked her, we have treated her moſt roughly!

Some differences had ariſen between General Menou, and General Hutchinſon, relative to the antiquities and collections. General Menou had maintained that two Statues, found in the ruins of Alexandria, were private property belonging to General Friant; that the famous Stone, (called "The Gem of

Antiquity" by the French, as being the key to the Hieroglyphic Language) was his private property; and that the collections of Natural History belonged individually to the different artists. These pretensions were so weak as not to admit of sound argument; for how could such things be claimed by individuals, particularly in the French service, on an expedition in which so much attention had been paid, and such national expense incurred, to procure for the Museum of Paris curiosities of this nature? General Menou at last abandoned the claim to the Stone, but the statues were left to the English as a surrender of necessity. The works of the Sçavans, General Hutchinson, on their representation, restored to them; as they explained, that their researches would be published for general information, and he was aware that no one could complete so well as those who originally designed. General Menou, in the course of this altercation, stated that he was certainly obliged to yield to the mandates of a general supported by so many thousand men, and with such an artillery: a mean and vulgar insinuation, totally unworthy a gentleman and a soldier! General Hutchinson replied, that these reproaches were not handsome, since he had never cast any on him, for allowing an inferior army to gain the country, nor should he, even now, make such recrimination.

On September 14th the first division of the French marched to Aboukir and embarked.

On the 15th Lord William Bentinck arrived from England, bringing dispatches. General Moore was ordered to England with all possible dispatch, Lord Cavan was left in command of Egypt, and General

Hutchinſon had leave to return home, General Fox being appointed to the command of the troops in the Mediterranean.

The French continued to embark as faſt as ſhips could be provided.

During this arduous and intereſting conteſt, the Engliſh loſt twenty-four officers and about ſeven or eight hundred private men, including the naval as well as the military ſervice. Very different was the fate of France; which, in this memorable Expedition to the Eaſt, loſt not leſs than from thirty to forty thouſand of its beſt troops, and had its navy almoſt annihilated. Of the whole number of French ſent to Egypt in the courſe of three years there returned 23,000: they were accompanied by ſeveral hundreds of the natives, of both ſexes. In addition to this, they loſt, in different actions, one thouſand and three pieces of cannon, excluſive of near five hundred unſerviceable pieces, guns in boats, &c. &c. In ſhipping, they loſt one of ſixty-four, one of fifty-two, one of fifty, one of forty-ſix, and two of twenty-ſix guns; beſides, two hundred ſail of merchantmen.

The loſſes of the Engliſh have been already ſtated, and perhaps the curious and ſcientific reader will not be diſpleaſed to find here, a Liſt of thoſe Monuments and remains of Ancient Sculpture, with which the Expedition enriched England.

AN ACCOUNT

Of PIECES OF ANCIENT SCULPTURE, *taken by the Britiſh forces, under the Command of Lieutenant-general* LORD HUTCHINSON, *in Egypt, from the French Army in Alexandria, and ſent to England, September* 1802.

1. An Egyptian Sarcophagus, with the hieroglyphics

of a ſtone, called by the French *Breche Verte*, from the moſque of St. Athanaſius in Alexandria.

2. Ditto, ditto, of black granite, from Cairo.

3. Ditto, ditto, of baſaltes, from Menouf.

4. The fift of a Coloſſal Statue, ſuppoſed to be Vulcan, found in the ruins of Memphis.

5. Five Fragments, of Statues with Lions Heads, black granite brought from the ruins of Thebes.

6. A Mutilated Figure kneeling, black granite.

7. Two Statues, white marble, ſuppoſed to be Septimius Severus, and Marcus Aurelius, found in the reſearches made in Alexandria.

8. A ſtone, of black granite, with three inſcriptions, Hieroglyphic, Coptic, and Greek, found near Roſetta.

9. A Statue of a Woman ſitting, with a Lion's Head, black granite, from Upper Egypt.

10. Two Fragments of Lion's Heads, black granite, from Upper Egypt.

11. A Small Figure kneeling, with Hieroglyphics, black granite, from Upper Egypt.

12. Five Fragments of Statues, with Lion's Heads, black granite, from Upper Egypt.

13. A Fragment of a Sarcophagus, black granite, from Upper Egypt.

14. Two ſmall Obeliſks, remarkably fine, with Hieroglyphics, baſaltes, from Upper Egypt.

15. A Coloſſal Ram's Head, of a ſtone called by the French *Rouge Grain*, from Upper Egypt.

16. A Statue of a Woman ſitting on the ground, of black granite: between the feet is a Medal of a Capital of a Column of the Temple of Iſis at Dendera.

17. A Fragment of a Statue, with a Lion's Head, black granite, from Upper Egypt.

A cheſt of Oriental MSS. amounting to ſixty-two, Coptic, Arabic, and Turkiſh, belonging to the Library of the French Institute at Cairo.

Several antiquities were found by the Engliſh; the moſt

valuable were, the Figure of a Roman Soldier, as large as life, and a large Tablet; the inſcription of which ſtated, that whatever this belonged to, was erected in honour of Septimius Severus, by the veterans of the 11th Legion; which Tablet is now in the poſſeſſion of General Coote. A ſtone was alſo found, in the camp of the 3d Regiment of Guards, with hieroglyphics, of the ſame unknown kind as the Memnon.

CHAPTER XVI.

General Joy diffuſed in England at the ſucceſsful Termination of the Egyptian Expedition.—Honours accorded to the Army.—The Burial of Sir Ralph Abercrombie at Malta.—His Monument, and the Inſcription thereon.—Probable Diſappointment of Buonaparté at the Failure of his Hopes in the Eaſt.—The Manner in which he gloſſed over the Defeat of his Army.—Brief Account of the Maſſacre of the Beys.—General Hutchinſon's Conduct upon it.

THE ſucceſsful termination of the war in Egypt diffuſed general joy throughout England, and every one was emulous to pay ſome mark of reſpect and admiration to the brave men who had ſo nobly maintained the honour of the Britiſh name throughout ſuch an arduous campaign. The thanks of both Houſes of Parliament were voted; a cenotaph to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercrombie; a peerage to his widow, and a penſion of 2,000l. *per annum:* General Hutchinſon was created a peer, with a penſion of 2,000l. a year: Admiral Keith was alſo created a Britiſh peer: General Coote inveſted with the order of the Bath; and each regiment which had been employed upon the ſervice was allowed to carry in their colours the emblem of a Sphinx, and to have the word "Egypt!" inſcribed. The Grand Signior, alſo, to perpetuate the ſervices rendered to the Ottoman Empire, eſtabliſhed an order of knighthood, which he named, "The ORDER of the CRESCENT:" in the firſt claſs

were Lord Hutchinſon, Lord Keith, Admiral Bickerton, Major General Coote, Major General Baird, and Lord Elgin. In the ſecond the general officers, and naval officers of equal rank.

The gallant, the lamented, Sir Ralph Abercrombie's body was carried, in the Flora frigate, to Malta, and buried in the North eaſt baſtion of the fortifications of La Valette. A black marble Tombſtone, laid horizontally, marks the place of interment. A Latin inſcription is engraved upon it, written by the Librarian of the Order of Malta, and of which, for the ſake of the general reader, we ſhall give a tranſlation; conſcious, as we are, that every reader will peruſe with delight the laſt record of a brave Soldier, and a virtuous Man.

TO THE MEMORY
Of RALPH ABERCROMBIE, a native of Scotland,
Knight of the Order of the Bath;
a Man
highly diſtinguiſhed for his probity,
magnanimity, conſummate courage,
and military talents,
in the ſeveral Wars of America and Holland:
whom GEORGE THE THIRD, King of
Great Britain,
with the univerſal approbation of his Subjects,
appointed Commander in Chief
of the Britiſh Army in the Mediterranean Sea:
In which capacity,
completing an Expedition to Egypt,
He,
although everywhere oppoſed by the braveſt
of the Troops of France,
in one forcible attack, gained and kept
poſſeſſion of the whole Egyptian Coaſt;

and, in his progreſs, defeated and ſuppreſſed
their endeavours to oppoſe him:
until, the Britiſh and French Armies
engaging in a ſanguinary conflict, near
Alexandria,
on the 21ſt day of March, in the Year 1801,
whilſt fighting in the foremoſt ranks,
and in the very boſom of victory,
He received a mortal wound
in his thigh;
of which, to the keen regret of all who knew him,
He expired,
on the 28th day of the ſame month, in the 68th
year of his age.
He was a Commander
eminently conſpicuous for his ſkill
in the Art of War;
for his prudence in projecting,
and bravery in executing his meaſures;
and for his unſullied honour in all that
concerned the glory of his Country and King,
His Sovereign, and Great Britain, were alike
grieved at his loſs.

HENRY PIGOT,
appointed, by Royal authority,
Commander in Chief of the garriſon
of Britiſh troops ſtationed
in this Iſland, has piouſly ordered
this to be raiſed over the aſhes
of that excellent and well deſerving
Officer; conveyed hither, in public
funeral, on the 29th day of
April, in the ſame year.

Thus terminated the Egyptian Expedition, with glory to this country, and not without it to France.

Buonaparté ſaw, in the final departure of his troops, the complete failure of his ambitious hopes; he ſaw himſelf defeated in the ſtrong expectations which he had formed of humbling England. Cut off from all hopes of diſturbing our Indian poſſeſſions, and thus creating a diverſion in that quarter of the world in his favour; without a navy, by which to counteract this derangement of his plans; and too buſily employed in conſolidating his newly acquired power to feel himſelf at leiſure to form new ones; he adopted that conduct, the courſe of which we have now to purſue. Great, indeed, muſt have been his vexation at ſo calamitous a termination; but he knew how to make even defeat reſpectable; and he conſoled the French Nation with the reflection, "That the Army of the Eaſt had left in Egypt an immortal memory; which would, perhaps, one day, revive there the arts and inſtitutions of ſociety: and that Hiſtory, at leaſt, would not paſs over in ſilence all that the French had done to introduce into that country the arts and improvements of Europe." No! Hiſtory ſhall record this; and, with it, ſhe will record ſcenes more diſgraceful to civilized man than ever ſtained the annals of a nation!

We ſhall conclude this chapter with a brief mention of the maſſacre of the Beys; an event that has been ſuppoſed, by ſome, to reflect a ſhade of opprobrium on the Britiſh character, though unjuſtly.

From the commencement of the war in Egypt the Porte had formed a ſecret reſolution to change the government of that country, at the ſame time that both the Grand Vizier and Captain Pacha held out to the Beys and the Mamelukes the moſt unequivocal aſſurances that their authority would be immediately

Egyptian Bey.

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reſtored on the deſtruction of the infidels. On the expulſion of the French from Egypt, accordingly, ſeven of the Beys were invited to Alexandria, to hold a conference with the Captain Pacha, on the ſubject of certain arrangements, neceſſary to be made for their re-eſtabliſhment: they were received, on their arrival, with every demonſtration of hoſpitality and reſpect. On pretence of a wiſh that they might accompany him on a viſit of ceremony to the Britiſh Commander in Alexandria, but, in reality, with a view to ſend them to Conſtantinople, he treacherouſly engaged them to go on board a ſhip of war, whither he was himſelf to accompany them: but, after they had gone into the boats that were to carry them to the ſhip, they began to recollect the repeated advices and warnings that had been given to them by General Hutchinſon, never to truſt themſelves on board any Turkiſh veſſels; and they apprehended ſome violence after they ſhould be lodged in the frigate. They required of the officers who had charge of them to reconduct them to the ſhore: the officers, pleading the orders of the High Admiral, refuſed to comply with their requeſt. The Beys, graſping their arms, began to uſe force: a conflict enſued, in which four of the Beys were killed and three wounded. The Grand Vizier, too, at the ſame time, attempted to ſecure as many of the Beys as he could, by force or fraud: ſome fell into his hands, others made their eſcape into Upper Egypt.

General Hutchinſon, apprized of all this, ordered his troops under arms, remonſtrated ſeverely with both the Grand Vizier and the Captain Pacha, and reclaimed, in a menacing tone, the wounded Beys;

the bodies of the ſlain, for honourable ſepulture; and the Beys alſo who were in the power of the Vizier. Our readers will remember, that General Hutchinſon had repeatedly pledged himſelf for the ſafety of theſe people. The Captain Pacha imputed the diſaſter that had befallen the Seven Beys to their own ſuſpicions, which, he ſaid, were without foundation; and he excuſed his own conduct from the orders that had been ſent, both to himſelf and the Grand Vizier, from the Porte. He carried himſelf very highly, and affected to treat General Hutchinſon, in ſome ſort, as the gueſt of the Grand Seignior, by ſending him regularly a ſecond courſe to his table, conſiſting of all the delicacies that could be provided. It has been juſtly thought that General Hutchinſon did not act with becoming vigor upon this occaſion, nor was he ſufficiently attentive to the honour and dignity of the Britiſh name. The conduct of the Captain Pacha and the Grand Vizier towards theſe unfortunate Beys was a flagrant breach of faith, which ought to have been reſented in a prompt and deciſive manner. To have hung the perfidious Pacha at the yard-arm of the very veſſel into which he meant to decoy the Beys, would have been an act of common juſtice, and would have ſtruck the Eaſt with admiration and awe of the Britiſh name: but, inſtead of this, General Hutchinſon merely confined himſelf to demanding the freedom of the Beys! which was granted.

But the Beys, though left to their own diſpoſal, foreſaw the evacuation of Egypt by the Engliſh and the eſtabliſhment of the power of the Turks: their faithful Mamelukes were either diſperſed or had fallen by the ſword; they liſtened, therefore, to the fair

promiſes that were made to them by the Captain Pacha and Grand Vizier, and ſolemnly confirmed by their oaths on the Koran, of protection, favour, and preferment, if they would throw themſelves into the arms of the Sultan. They conſented to relinquiſh their pretenſions to any authority in Egypt, and ſignified their conſent in writing to the Grand Seignior, and alſo to General Hutchinſon. The Porte extended to Egypt the ſyſtem of government by Pachas.

Thus terminated the revolution, occaſioned by the French, in Egypt; and much bloodſhed, and immenſe treaſures were ſquandered towards the attainment of an object, which was, finally, rendered abortive by the arms of Great Britain.

CHAPTER XVII.

Return to European Politics.—Views of Buonaparté towards England after the Peace of Luneville.—The principal Objects of his Attention.—Endeavours to revive the armed Confederacy of 1780.—*The Emperor Paul ſends an Embaſſy to Paris, and the ſumptuous Manner in which it is received.— Denmark enjoyed a long Peace.—The firſt to arm againſt England.—The only one that ſuffers.—Lord Whitworth ſent to Copenhagen, and his Miſſion backed by an Engliſh Squadron, therefore ſucceſsful.*

HAVING brought the Egyptian Expedition to a cloſe, let us now return to Europe, and narrate, with a faithful pen the events that took place there during our ſtruggles in the Eaſt; events which will be found more intimately connected with our Hero, becauſe occurring under his immediate eye and inſtigated by his direct influence.

Having made peace with Auſtria he was now at liberty to bend his undivided attention towards England; for though he, probably, did not himſelf entertain any ſolid hopes of effecting any thing important againſt this country, yet the appearance of it, he knew, might aſſiſt him two ways; it would ſerve to keep the army employed, and to furniſh matter for attention to the Pariſians, who would thus be withdrawn from too cloſe a conſideration of his own newly acquired power; and it would alſo compel us to be continually on the alert, exhauſt gradually our reſources, and pave the way for a general pacification.

The leading features of the policy of Buonaparté towards this country, at the time we are now treating of, appear to have been, to excite a confederacy againſt us among all the maritime powers, and to exclude us from all the ports of Europe; then to attack Portugal, our only remaining ally, and, if poſſible, to ſubdue her; and, finally, by the continued threats of invaſion, to wear out our patience and impoveriſh our finances.

Buonaparté was congratulated by all the conſtituted authorities on the peace which he had made with Auſtria. In his anſwer, he replied, "France will not reap all the bleſſings of peace until ſhe ſhall have a peace with England; but a ſort of delirium has ſeized on that Government, which now holds nothing ſacred: its conduct is unjuſt, not only towards the French people, but alſo towards all the powers of the continent; and, when governments are not juſt, their authority is but ſhort-lived. All the powers of the continent muſt force England to fall back into the track of moderation, of equity, and reaſon." Such was the language then held by Buonaparté towards this country, and it is remarkable what a ſimilarity has prevailed ever ſince. The liberty of the ſeas has long been the watch-word, though an unavailing one, and, we truſt, it will ever prove ſo. Let it never be forgotten, that the navy of England is the only ſure bulwark upon which ſhe can ſecurely rely; that deſtroyed, her deſtruction, though not rapid, would be certain. Though Buonaparté be not a Scipio, yet England may prove a Carthage, if ever the conteſt be brought to iſſue upon her own ſhores, and our navy deſtroyed.

Our readers will recollect that Buonaparté, after

his assumption of the Consulate, made overtures of peace to this country, in a letter, addressed directly to the King, he not deigning to use the customary diplomatic forms. These overtures were rejected, principally, as it is understood, from the influence of Mr. Pitt, who, having declared that he never would make a peace with Buonaparté, now, consistently with his declaration, urged the probable insecurity of the French Government, and the folly of making peace with a power that might ceafe to exist ere the articles could be drawn up.

Buonaparté, failing in this attempt at pacification (the sincerity of which may be justly doubted) continued, with unfailing assiduity, to represent to all maritime nations the overbearing haughtiness and insolence of this country, and he endeavoured to revive the armed neutrality of 1780; the principle of which was, that free and neutral bottoms made free and neutral goods. The glaring fallacy of this opinion needs no refutation; the most obtuse mind must be aware, that such a principle once admitted, would open a door to the exercise of privileges prejudicial in an alarming degree to the interests of this country; not, indeed, to the interests of this country alone, for even those powers who were advocates for its establishment against us, might become, they knew not how soon, in a situation that would render it as injurious to themselves: this, however, they saw not, in the blindness of their rage: the attempts of the weak against the strong, indeed, are often only injurious machines, which return back upon the inventors.

It was sufficient for Buonaparté that the idea was plausible and calculated to flatter the wishes of the different maritime powers. By his ministers, and other agents, at the courts of Petersburgh, Stockholm,

Copenhagen, and Berlin, he infinuated how encouraging the preſent poſture of Europe was for ſuch a ſtep, and how great the advantages of compelling the Engliſh to make peace on reaſonable terms.

The effecting of this was not then ſo difficult: Ruſſia, the moſt important of the Northern powers, was governed by a frantic madman, the Emperor Paul. He had been irritated, by various accidents, againſt the courts both of Vienna and London, but eſpecially againſt the latter. Mutual accuſations had taken place between the Ruſſian and the Engliſh generals after the unſucceſsful and diſaſtrous expedition, in 1799, to Holland. After the firſt ebullition of the Emperor's rage againſt his own officers, his jealouſy and reſentment was awakened againſt the Engliſh; and this was further inflamed by the failure of his ſchemes in the Mediterranean.

The genius of the Ruſſian Government, amidſt the caprices and ſingularities of individual characters, may be ſaid ſtill to preſerve the impulſe and determination that was given to it by Peter I. It was his aim to have a firm footing in the Mediterranean as well as on the Northern Ocean and the Baltic: in purſuance of this general aim, Paul had been led, by a concurrence of circumſtances, to fix his eyes and heart on Malta. It appears that he had been allowed to entertain hopes of poſſeſſing it, though no abſolute promiſe was made to him by the other Allies. A fleet with troops had ſailed from the Black Sea in Auguſt 1800, for the expreſs purpoſe of taking poſſeſſion of the place when it ſhould ſurrender. No remonſtrances were made when Paul ridiculouſly aſſumed the title of Grand Maſter of Malta; and when he pretended to make Captain Home Popham, a knight of that

order his right to do ſo was recognized in the London Gazette. When the original deſtination of that fleet was fruſtrated, by the ſurrender of Malta, and its occupation by the Engliſh, it remained long at anchor in the Canal of Conſtantinople, waiting for orders how to act. The reſentment of the Emperor was, in the firſt inſtance, as is uſual, wreaked on a weak party, preſenting itſelf as a ready object for the gratification of his paſſion. He demanded from the Grand Seignior, the ally of England, a large ſum, ſtipulated, he alledged, to be paid by the Turks for the maritime aid of the Ruſſians. A ſharp diſpute aroſe on this ſubject: the Ruſſian Admiral refuſed to return to the Crimea till the money ſhould be paid, and even threatened hoſtile meaſures againſt Conſtantinople: the Porte was obliged to yield to the menaces of the enraged Czar of Muſcovy. Nor is it by any means unimportant, however ludicrous, to mention, that Paul was highly offended by the caricatures of his perſon and character, publiſhed in the ſtreets of London, and which Buonaparté took eſpecial care to have tranſmitted to Peterſburgh On the irritable and irritated temper of the Emperor, diſguſted with Auſtria, and much more with England, Buonaparté operated with conſummate addreſs and complete ſucceſs.

The conſequence of all this was an embaſſy from Ruſſia to France, on which occaſion Buonaparté, with admirable policy, took care to flatter the vanity of Paul, by paying the moſt extravagant attentions to his repreſentative. The ambaſſador was received with the moſt profuſe honours: his entry into Paris was announced by the firing of guns; nothing that he aſked could be refuſed; and the good, modeſt, unaſſuming Count Kalitcheff, knew not whether he

Paul. I.
Emperor
of the Russians

was a man or a god. Buonaparté, however, cared not; he was a maſter in that perfection of political ſkill which conſiſts in rendering the dominant foibles or virtues of your object ſubſervient to your own deſigns. Paul could not be proof againſt ſuch ſplendid courteſy: he was won.

Next to Ruſſia, the power of moſt importance in the formation of a confederation againſt England was Pruſſia: without her concurrence the effects of any confederacy could neither be very important or very laſting, but with it every thing was to be feared. Pruſſia commands an extenſive maritime coaſt, and the navigation of all the great rivers from the Rhine to the Eider, on the North of Germany: Buonaparté, therefore, ſpared no exertions to bring this power into the confederacy, and, for this purpoſe, he ſent his brother Louis to Berlin. Nor was it by ſecret intrigues only that he endeavoured to raiſe this armed monſter againſt England: he avowed this intention, with the reaſons on which it was formed, before the whole world, in a Meſſage to the Legiſlative Body, the Tribunate, and the Conſervative Senate, on the 13th February, and which, like his other meſſages and meaſures, was printed and publiſhed. "Why," ſays he, "is it that this treaty (*i. e.* the Treaty of Luneville) is not a treaty of general pacification? this was the wiſh of France, this was the conſtant object of the efforts of its government. But all its efforts have been in vain. Europe knows all that the Britiſh miniſtry have done to prevent the ſucceſs of the negotiations at Luneville. In vain did an agent, authorized by the Government, declare to them, on the 9th of October, 1800, that France was ready to enter into a ſeperate negotiation with them: its declaration was

anſwered only by a refuſal, under a pretext that England could not abandon her Ally. Since that period, and after that Ally had conſented to treat without England, this government ſeeks for other means of poſtponing peace, which is ſo neceſſary to the whole world. It violates a convention conſecrated by humanity and makes war on fiſhermen * ! It advances pretenſions contrary to the dignity and the rights of all nations. All the commerce of Aſia and immenſe colonies are no longer ſufficient to ſatisfy its ambition; it is neceſſary that all the ſeas ſhould be ſubjected to the excluſive ſovereignty of England. It arms againſt Ruſſia, Denmark, and Sweden, becauſe Ruſſia, Denmark, and Sweden, have by treaties mutually guaranteed their ſovereignty, their independence, and their flags. The Princes of the North, unjuſtly attacked, have a right to rely on the aſſiſtance of France: the French Government will, with them, avenge an injury common to all nations; without at any time forgetting, that it ought to contend only for peace and the happineſs of the world."

Such was the language of Buonaparté upon this occaſion, and it was echoed by his faithful conſtituted authorities with moſt courtly ſimilarity; *The liberty of the ſeas and the repoſe of Europe* was the chief burden of the ſong in all their harangues. Nor was the preſs ſilent in the grand buſineſs of arming a confederacy againſt us: many publications were iſſued, whoſe object was, not only to ſhew that the overbearing power of this country at ſea ought to be reſiſted, but that it might be reſiſted with ſucceſs. Examples

* For a refutation of this ſilly charge, this idle rhodomontade, ſee p. 36 of the preſent Volume.

were adduced, to ſhew that maritime ſtrength, unſupported by territorial, is nothing; and it was confidently predicted, that the fate of Alexandria, Tyre, Rhodes, Venice, Genoa, Portugal, Spain, &c. would ſpeedily be the fate of England.

The manner in which Buonaparté ſignified his intention of cruſhing our maritime ſupremacy was ſignified to England in a very courteous manner.—About the middle of January, 1801, ſome valuable books, magnificently bound, were preſented to the Royal Society of London, from the National Inſtitute of France: a letter of compliment accompanied this preſent, ſigned—*Buonaparte, Preſident of the National Inſtitute and Firſt Conſul of France:* and on the letter was a finely executed vignette, repreſenting Liberty ſailing on the open ocean in a ſhell, with the following motto:

"Liberté de mer."

The progreſs of the Northern Confederacy became every day more marked; Ruſſia, Sweden, Denmark, and Pruſſia, entered into it with avidity. Denmark had long been a pacific nation, not having been engaged in any war for upwards of eighty years, and it might, therefore, have been preſumed that ſhe would reluctantly engage in one now; yet it is remarkable, that ſhe was the firſt, the laſt, and the only power, that was engaged in actual hoſtilities.

Many Daniſh ſhips had been brought into our ports, though it appeared, afterwards, that they contained no contraband commodities: this was not only vexatious but attended with much loſs. But the firſt difference, of any conſequence, ſince the armed neutrality of 1780, on the ſubject of the right of viſitation by ſea, aroſe in the month of December 1799, in the

vicinity of Gibraltar, between ſome Engliſh frigates and a Daniſh frigate, named the Hauſenen, commanded by Captain Van Dockum. The Engliſh commander ſent on board the Dane, to demand from the captain his deſtination. The captain anſwered, that he was then going to Gibraltar. The Engliſh commander replied, that, if he was going to ſtop at Gibraltar, he would not viſit his convoy; but that, in caſe he ſhould not caſt anchor there, the viſit certainly would take place. Captain Van Dockum then informed the officer, who had come on board, that, in ſuch caſe, he would make reſiſtance. On this the Engliſh captain made the ſignal to examine the convoy: the boat of the frigate (which was the Emerald) prepared to execute this order. Some muſketry was fired down from the Daniſh frigate, and one of the Engliſh ſailors wounded in conſequence: this frigate alſo took poſſeſſion of a boat of the Engliſh frigate the Flora, and did not releaſe it till after the Engliſh captain had given Captain Dockum to underſtand, that, if he did not ſurrender it immediately, he ſhould commence hoſtilities. The Daniſh frigate then repaired, with its convoy, to the Bay of Gibraltar: there ſome diſcuſſions took place, between Lord Keith, commander of the Britiſh forces in the Mediterranean, and Captain Van Dockum, whom Lord Keith thought proper to conſider as perſonally reſponſible and guilty of the injury done to a ſubject of his king. He thought it impoſſible, he ſaid, that the captain could be authorized to act in ſuch a manner by the inſtructions of his court. To clear up the buſineſs, the Engliſh admiral ſent an officer to Van Dockum, requeſting that he would ſhew him theſe inſtructions, and explain their nature. The

Dane refuſed to let the Admiral ſee his inſtructions, alledging that he was forbid ſo to do; but he told the officer that their import was, not to permit viſitation of his convoy, and that, in firing on the Engliſh boats, he only fulfilled his orders. The captain himſelf afterwards made like anſwer; and, on his word of honour, in converſation with Lord Keith and the governor of Gibraltar; promiſing, at the ſame time, to ſurrender himſelf before a judge, and to give notice of his appearance, on which promiſe he was told that he might return on board: but, having entered his boat, he ſent a Letter to the Admiral, in which he refuſed to give the notice required. All this was repreſented to the Daniſh miniſtry by Mr. Merry, the Britiſh Envoy at Copenhagen, on the 10th of April 1800, and demand made, in the name of his government, for a diſavowal, apology, and reparation. This affair, without any other reparation than a diſavowal, was ſatisfactorily adjuſted.

As it evidently was not the intereſt of Denmark to enter into a war with Great Britain, the reſiſtance made by Captain Van Dockam, excited conſiderable ſurpriſe and much conjecture: but this ſurpriſe was ſtill more excited by an engagement, which took place between a Daniſh frigate, the Freya, on the 25th July 1800, at the mouth of the Channel, and no leſs than four Engliſh frigates, a brig, and a lugger! Here, as before, the right of ſearch was reſiſted, and the conſequence was a broadſide from the Engliſh frigate, which was returned by the Daniſh; it was impoſſible, however, that ſhe could ſuſtain the unequal conflict, and ſhe accordingly ſtruck her colours. The Freya had five men killed and five wounded.

and thirty ſhots in the hull; the Engliſh had five men killed, and ſeveral wounded. The Daniſh frigate, as well as convoy, was taken to the Downs.

As it was apprehended, that, in the preſent diſpoſition of the Northern Powers, this incident might lead to a renewal of the armed neutrality, and an extenſion of the war; Lord Whitworth was ſent, with a ſpecial miſſion, to the court of Denmark, for the prevention of extremities, and for the reconciliation of differences; and, that the repreſentations with which he was charged might have the greater weight, he was ſupported by a ſquadron, under the command of Vice-admiral Dickſon; conſiſting of nine ſail of the line, four bomb ſhips, and five gun-veſſels.

This was deciſive, and the Court of Denmark was ill prepared to reſiſt a miſſion ſo accompanied: it was, therefore, agreed, that the Daniſh frigate and convoy, carried into Deal, were to be repaired at the expenſe of Great Britain. The diſcuſſion reſpecting the right, aſſerted by the Engliſh, of viſiting convoys, to be adjourned to a farther negotiation in London. Until this point ſhould be decided, the Daniſh ſhips were to ſail under convoys only in the Mediterranean, for the purpoſe of protection from the Barbary corſairs; and they were to be liable to be ſearched, as heretofore.

CHAPTER XIX.

View of the Parliamentary Proceedings in England.—Aſſembling of the Firſt Imperial Parliament.—His Majeſty's Speech upon the Occaſion.—Return to the Northern Confederacy.—The Emperor Paul's zealous Endeavours.—Denmark and Sweden reluctantly join the League.—Correſpondence between the Daniſh and Swediſh Ambaſſadors and Lord Grenville.—Fears with regard to Pruſſia.—Note from Lord Carysfort to the Priſſian Miniſter, and his Reply.

ON the 22d January, 1801, the firſt Imperial Parliament, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, was opened by Commiſſion, when the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Houſe of Commons that it was his Majeſty's pleaſure that they ſhould immediately proceed to elect a Speaker. The Commons then withdrew, and elected their late Speaker, Mr. Addington. The King, however, did not meet the Parliament till the 2nd of February, when he delivered the following Speech from the throne.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"At a crisis ſo important to the intereſts of my people, I derive great ſatisfaction from being enabled, for the firſt time, to avail myſelf of the advice and aſſiſtance of the Parliament of my United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

"This memorable æra, diſtinguiſhed by the accompliſhment of a meaſure calculated to augment and conſolidate the ſtrength and reſources of the Empire, and to cement more cloſely the intereſts and affections of my ſubjects, will, I truſt, be equally marked by that vigor, energy,

and firmneſs, which the circumſtances of our preſent ſituation peculiarly require.

"The unfortunate courſe of events on the continent, and the conſequences which muſt be expected to reſult from it, cannot fail to be matter of anxiety and concern to all who have a juſt feeling for the ſecurity and independence of Europe.

"Your aſtoniſhment, as well as your regret, muſt be excited by the conduct of thoſe powers, whoſe attention, at ſuch a period, appears to be more engaged in endeavours to weaken the naval force of the Britiſh Empire, which has hitherto oppoſed ſo powerful an obſtacle to the inordinate ambition of France, than in concerting the means of mutual defence againſt their common and increaſing danger.

"The repreſentations which I directed to be made to the Court of Peterſburgh, in conſequence of the outrages committed againſt the ſhips, property, and perſons of my ſubjects, have been treated with the utmoſt diſreſpect: and the proceedings of which I complain have been aggravated by ſubſequent acts of injuſtice and violence. Under theſe circumſtances, a Convention has been concluded by that Court with thoſe of Copenhagen and Stockholm; the object of which, as avowed by one of the contracting parties, is to renew their former engagements for eſtabliſhing, by force, a new code of maritime law, inconſiſtent with the rights, and hoſtile to the intereſts of this country.

"In this ſituation, I could not heſitate as to the conduct which it became me to purſue. I have taken the earlieſt meaſures to repel the aggreſſion of this hoſtile confederacy, and to ſupport thoſe principles which are eſſential to the maintainance of our naval ſtrength, and which are grounded on the ſyſtem of public law, ſo long eſtabliſhed and recogniſed in Europe. I have, at the ſame time, given ſuch aſſurances as manifeſt my diſpoſition to renew my ancient relations with thoſe powers, whenever it can be done conſiſtently with the honour of my crown, and with a juſt regard to the ſafety of my ſubjects.

"You will, I am perſuaded, omit nothing on your part that can afford me the moſt vigorous and effectual ſupport, in my firm determination to maintain, to the utmoſt, againſt every attack, the naval rights, and the intereſts of my Empire.

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"I have directed the eſtimates for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice to be laid before you. Deeply as I lament the continued neceſſity of adding to the burdens of my people; I am perſuaded you will feel, with me, the importance of providing effectual means for thoſe exertions which are indiſpenſibly requiſite for the honour and ſecurity of the country.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I am confident that your deliberations will be uniformly directed to the great object of improving the benefits of that happy Union, which, by the bleſſing of Providence, has now been effected; and of promoting to the utmoſt the proſperity of every part of my dominions.

"You will, I doubt not, reſume the inquiries which were ſo diligently proſecuted in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, as to the beſt means of relieving my ſubjects from the preſſure of the preſent high price of proviſions, and of preventing, as far as it can be done by human foreſight, the recurrence of ſimilar difficulties. In theſe endeavours, and in every meaſure that can contribute to the happineſs of my people, the great end of all my wiſhes, you may be aſſured of my cordial concurrence.

"You may rely on my availing myſelf of the earlieſt opportunity which ſhall afford a proſpect of terminating the preſent conteſt, on grounds conſiſtent with our ſecurity and honour, and with the maintenance of thoſe eſſential rights on which our naval ſtrength muſt always depend. It will afford me the trueſt and moſt heartfelt ſatisfaction, whenever the diſpoſition of our enemies ſhall enable me thus to reſtore to the ſubjects of the United

Kingdom the bleſſings of peace, and thereby confirm and augment thoſe advantages which reſult from our internal ſituation; and which, even under all the difficulties of war, have carried to ſo great an extent, the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and revenue of this country."

This Addreſs, as uſual, underwent examination, but nothing remarkable occurred during the debates. Congratulations on the ſucceſsful termination of the Union with Ireland were pretty unanimous; and ſome party rancor, reſpecting our buſineſs with the Northern Powers, was poured out againſt the miniſtry. Let us, therefore, return to our Northern enemies.

The Emperor Paul, whoſe animoſity againſt England was ſtill on the increaſe, being informed of the capture and detention of the Daniſh frigate, with her convoy, laid an embargo on all Engliſh ſhips in his harbours. This, however, was taken off as ſoon as he learned that the diſpute about the frigate was amicably adjuſted; but his zealous endeavours to unite the other Northern Powers with himſelf, in confederacy againſt Great Britain, were continued. The ſame prince who, in 1798, applauded our detention of the Swediſh convoy, and who threatened Denmark with war in 1799, for aſſiſting the commerce of the French Republic, not only joined, but took the moſt active part, in a league among thoſe very powers, for the purpoſe of aſſiſting that common enemy, whom he had engaged to Britain, and to the world, to reſiſt to the utmoſt extent of his power! He recruited his army as well as his navy: the movements of his troops towards the confines of Turkey in Europe appeared to indicate ſome plan concerted between him and Buonaparté, who had

become his great idol, for the purpoſe of intimidating the Grand Seignior into ſome conceſſions as favourable to France as detrimental to England. The reaſon aſſigned by Paul, in the Peterſburgh Gazette, for ſetting on foot a great army on the ſide of the Baltic, and diſtributing it in certain ſtations, which were pointed out, was, "That ſeveral political circumſtances induced his Majeſty the Emperor to think that a rupture might enſue of the friendſhip between Ruſſia and England." The moſt active preparations for naval war were, at the ſame time, carried on in all the Ruſſian ports.

The rupture with England, which Paul had predicted as not improbable, was announced, together with the immediate cauſe that led to it, by the publication of an Official Note ſent to the foreign miniſters at the Ruſſian Court, in the Peterſburgh Gazette. "Whereas his Imperial Majeſty had learned that the Iſland of Malta, lately in the poſſeſſion of the French, had been ſurrendered to the Engliſh troops; but, as it yet was uncertain whether the agreement entered into on the 30th of December, 1798, would be fulfilled, according to which that iſland was to be reſtored to the Order of St. John of Jeruſalem, of which his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias was Grand Maſter; his Imperial Majeſty being determined to defend his rights, had been pleaſed to command, that an embargo ſhould be laid on all Engliſh ſhips in the ports of his Empire till the above-mentioned Convention ſhould be fulfilled."

By this time the Ruſſian Envoy, Liſakwitch, had received orders from his Court to quit England, and to proceed to Copenhagen, where he was appointed ambaſſador.

In conſequence of the Emperor's orders, not only an embargo was laid on near 300 Britiſh ſhips in the ports of Peterſburgh, Riga, Revel, and Cronſtadt, but the crews, with their commanders, were taken out of the veſſels and diſperſed into the interior parts of the country, to diſtances from a hundred to a thouſand miles, in bodies of ten or twelve men each, and put into priſon! a flagrant and mad act of injuſtice; a groſs and infamous violation of the avowed intercourſe of poliſhed nations! Beſides this, all Britiſh property on ſhore was ſequeſtered; ſeals were placed on all warehouſes containing Engliſh goods; and the owners were obliged to enter into recogniſances to take inventories of their effects, and report the ſame to the government.

The preponderating power of the Ruſſian Empire in the North muſt, at all times, have great influence on the meaſures of Sweden and Denmark. The authority of the Emperor Paul, combined with the maritime intereſts, or, as was contended, rights, of theſe kingdoms, and the irritated pride of the Swediſh and Daniſh Courts, formed a confederacy of Sweden, Denmark, and Ruſſia, againſt the maritime claims of England; to which Pruſſia acceded, though under the ſtrongeſt proteſtations, that this was conſidered by the Court of Berlin merely as a meaſure of prevention, and that it by no means intended anything hoſtile againſt Great Britain.

Neither Denmark nor Sweden readily or willingly acceded to this confederacy. The trade of Denmark was, at this period, in a remarkably flouriſhing condition, and a war with England, was, therefore, a thing which they could not anticipate with much pleaſure. But, while Denmark heſitated, the Emperor of

Frederick III.
King of Prussia.

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Ruſſia threatened her with the ſevereſt marks of his diſpleaſure if ſhe ſhould perſiſt in her prudent plan of neutrality: Sweden, too, having once joined the league, ſolicited the acceſſion of Denmark in a tone ſomewhat dictatorial. But this haughty tone of Ruſſia and Sweden was, for a time, deſtructive of its end; and Denmark feared more her Northern allies than the power againſt which they would incite her: but the right of ſearch, which was enforced by Great Britain every day with increaſed vigor, rendered it neceſſary that ſhe ſhould rely upon ſome power greater than herſelf, and ſhe placed herſelf under the direction of the Court of Berlin.

The King of Pruſſia was now univerſally regarded as a party in the grand Confederation, which was well known among the Northern Powers. The mouths of the Elbe, the Viſtula, the Weſer, and the Ems, lay within the precincts of thoſe territories of whoſe neutrality he was the principal guardian; and theſe inlets gave him an opportunity of co-operating with the other Confederates as effectually as if Pruſſia had ranked among the firſt maritime powers: he could exclude the merchandiſe of England from thoſe ports, and cut off the ſupplies of grain, which were eagerly expected in England at this time, which was a period of great ſcarcity.

Without the acceſſion of Pruſſia the Northern Confederacy muſt have been incomplete; with the good-will, or even neutrality of Pruſſia, England might defy the intrigues of Buonaparté and brave the utmoſt rage of Ruſſia, though ſeconded by ſo hardy and brave a country as Sweden. The acceſſion of Pruſſia involving, of neceſſity, that of Denmark, completed the chain for excluding the Engliſh

from the continent, from Peterſburgh and Stockholm to the Straits of Gibraltar.

In conſequence of theſe hoſtile meaſures exhibited in the North, the Britiſh Government, on the 14th January, 1801, ordered a ſeizure, not only in the way of retaliation on Ruſſian ſhips, but on all veſſels, belonging to any of the Confederate Powers, at that time in any of the ports of Great Britain, thoſe of Pruſſia excepted; and letters of marque were granted, for the purpoſe of capturing a great variety of richly laden ſingle veſſels, as well as fleets, which were known to be working their way to the Baltic. A great number of veſſels belonging to the Northern Powers, but moſtly to the Danes and Swedes, were ſtopped in our ports, and many taken at ſea. Of 459 Swediſh ſhips, that were abroad, it was eſtimated that 200 were either ſeized at ſea or detained in Engliſh harbours!

On the day after that on which the order was iſſued for laying an embargo on the Northern ſhips (January 15) a Note was preſented, by Lord Grenville, to the Daniſh and Swediſh ambaſſadors at London, reſpecting the embargo that had been laid on the Daniſh and Swediſh veſſels. The ſubſtance and import of it was: "That his Britannic Majeſty, being informed of the re-eſtabliſhment of the armed neutrality of 1800 and 1801, and of the naval preparations in the Baltic, had determined, immediately, to adopt the moſt effectual meaſures for repelling the attack he had already experienced, and to oppoſe the effects of the confederacy armed againſt him. An embargo had been laid on all the Daniſh and Swediſh ſhips in the ports belonging to his Majeſty; but, in the execution of this meaſure, his Majeſty would take

care that no violent or ſevere proceedings ſhould be exerciſed on the part of his Majeſty towards innocent individuals. His Majeſty was ſtill animated by the moſt anxious deſire that the circumſtances which had rendered theſe ſteps neceſſary might ceaſe, and that he might be enabled to return to thoſe relations with the Courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen which exiſted between them, till that mutual good underſtanding was interrupted by the preſent attempts to renew former pretenſions." To this Note the Daniſh ambaſſador, Count Jariſberg, replied.—"That with reſpect to the principles of the Northern Powers, concerning the ſacred rights of neutrality, they had not been abandoned. Ruſſia, in her belligerent quality, had only ſuſpended the application; and Denmark and Sweden had, by their convention of the 17th March, 1794, declared, in the face of all Europe, that their ſyſtem of protection in favour of innocent commerce was invariable: hence it followed, that his Daniſh Majeſty now only renewed ties which had not ceaſed to exiſt." The Baron, therefore, proteſted againſt proceedings of ſo hoſtile a nature.

The Swediſh Envoy, Baron Ernſward, ſaid, "That as the diſpute between the Ruſſian and Engliſh Courts related to the iſland of Malta, and the declaration of the Daniſh court referred to the convention of 1780, he could ſee no juſt reaſon why the Swediſh Court, which had given no juſt cauſe of complaint to the Engliſh, ſhould be attacked in ſo hoſtile a manner, before any anſwer had been given to the inſinuations contained in a Note from the Engliſh to the Swediſh miniſtry at Stockholm, 31ſt December. In conformity to orders from his Maſter, he proteſted formally againſt the embargo laid on the Swediſh ſhips,

and all loſs or damage that might be thereby occaſioned. He demanded, in the moſt forcible terms, that, in purſuance of the treaty of 1661, the embargo might be taken off, the continuance of which could no otherwiſe be conſidered than as a deſigned and premeditated declaration of war on the part of England, as well by the detention of the convoy as in reſpect to the affair of Barcelona."

When Lord Grenville's notification was received at Stockholm all Swediſh veſſels were immediately ſtopped from going to England, and an embargo was laid on all Engliſh ſhips in the Swediſh harbours. After ſome farther civil remonſtrances on both ſides the Swediſh miniſter quitted England.

The Court of St. James's was diſpoſed to deal with conſiderable delicacy with Pruſſia, becauſe it was a power that was able not only to diſtreſs Great Britain in every point of view, but alſo to annoy its ſovereign, by attacking the Electorate of Hanover. Lord Carysfort, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Berlin, in repeated Notes, repreſented the violent proceedings of Paul, and the unjuſt and hoſtile deſigns of the Northern Powers in general, with many expreſſions of confidence, that, notwithſtanding various reports and appearances, his Pruſſian Majeſty had not entered into the confederacy, to ſupport, by force, principles in common with other powers, whoſe hoſtile views againſt his Britannic Majeſty had been openly proved. The laſt of theſe Notes, dated at Berlin, January 27, 1801, concluded with the expreſſion of a firm reliance, that, "whatever ſentiments the Pruſſian Government might entertain in regard to the new principles of the armed neutrality themſelves, it was too juſt, and knew too well what ſovereigns owed to their

people, and to one another, to favour for a moment the design to employ force, in order to induce his Britannic Majesty to acknowledge a code which the latter deemed inconsistent with the honour and security of his crown." Lord Carysfort received in answer, from the Prussian minister, Count Haugwitz, a Note, bearing date the 12th February. It stated, among other particulars, "That his Prussian Majesty could not see without the utmost grief and concern the violent and hasty measures to which the Court of London had proceeded against the Northern naval powers; the negotiation that had lately been carried on among whom was founded in justice and moderation, as the communication of a copy of the Convention, to such of the belligerent powers as had the justice and patience to wait for it, would fully prove. The British Government had in the present, more than in any former wars, usurped the sovereignty of the seas; and, by arbitrarily framing a naval code, which it would be difficult to unite with the true principles of the law of nations, it exercised over the other friendly and neutral powers a usurped jurisdiction, the legality of which it maintained, and which it considered as an imprescriptible right sanctioned by all the other tribunals of Europe. The sovereigns had never conceded to England the privilege of calling their subjects before its tribunals and of subjecting them to its laws, in cases where the abuse of power had got the better of equity, and which were but too frequent. The neutral powers had always had the precaution of addressing to it the most energetic proclamations and protests, but experience had ever proved their reclamations fruitless; and it was not

ſurpriſing, that, after ſo many repeated acts of oppreſſion they had reſolved to find a remedy againſt it, and, for that purpoſe, to eſtabliſh a well arranged Convention, which fixed their rights, and placed them on a proper level, even with the powers at war. This naval alliance, in the manner in which it had juſt been conſolidated, was intended to lead to that ſalutary end; and the King heſitated not to declare to his Britannic Majeſty, that he had again found in it his own principles; that he was fully convinced of its neceſſity and utility; and that he had formally acceeded to the Convention which had been concluded on the 16th of December, laſt year, between the Courts of Ruſſia, Denmark, and Sweden. His Majeſty was, therefore, among the number of the contracting parties, and had bound himſelf, in that quality, not only to take a direct ſhare in all the events which intereſted the cauſe of the Neutral Powers, but alſo, in virtue of his engagements, to maintain that connexion by ſuch *powerful meaſures as the impulſe of circumſtances might require.* Unpleaſant as the extremes might be to which England had proceeded, yet his Majeſty doubted not the poſſibility of a ſpeedy return to conciliating and peaceable diſpoſitions; and he relied on the ſentiments of equity which, on former occaſions, he had had the advantage of meeting with in his Britannic Majeſty. It was only by revoking an entirely taking off the embargo that affairs could be brought to their former ſituation: while thoſe meaſures exiſted, which had been reſorted to from a common principle, and againſt an alliance which could no longer be ſhaken, the hoſtile reſolution, which would be the conſequence, would be the neceſſary reſult of the Treaty; and the Pruſſian miniſter was

authorised to declare to the minister of his Britannic Majesty, "That the King, while he expressed his concern at events of which he had not been the cause, would sacredly fulfil the engagements which had been prescribed to him by treaties."

From this Note, it was evident that nothing was to be expected from the neutrality of Prussia, and the very circumstances which were most dreaded by England, precisely happened; viz. the exclusion of the English commerce from the great rivers of Prussia, and the invasion of Hanover.

At the same time a body of Danish troops, to the amount of 15,000, under the command of Prince Charles, Landgrave of Hesse, a field marshal in the Danish service, and father-in-law to the Prince Royal of Denmark, then called The Crown Prince, took possession of Hamburgh, in order, as was declared by a proclamation, published at the Exchange of Hamburgh, April 3d, to stop the British navigation and trade on the Elbe. An embargo had already, on the 20th March, been laid on the British ships at Copenhagen and the other ports of Denmark.

How often do we forget our own vices when we accuse our neighbour! Denmark, who was guilty, here, of a gross violation of the rights of nations, who entered a peaceable and a commercial town with all the horrors of war, merely to injure and impede the commerce of a distant enemy; that very government, who had acted so flagitiously on this occasion, how loudly has she stigmatized our conduct on a late event, when we bombarded her capital, and took away her navy! If we accuse her some of her own conduct towards Hamburgh, there is not an excuse she could alledge, which would not

alſo palliate us ten times more; and, if ſhe be ſilent, why then, let her ceaſe to execrate a conduct, the firſt example of which ſhe herſelf ſet.

When the intentions of Prince Charles of Heſſe were announced to the Senate of Hamburgh, March 28th, it ſent deputies, the next day, to his Highneſs at Penneberg, a town of Holſtein, about fifteen Engliſh miles from Hamburgh, to make the ſtrongeſt repreſentations againſt a meaſure ſo violent and unexpected. The Prince, without heſitation, declared his intention of ſummoning the city to ſurrender, next morning, to his troops, and even to uſe force, in caſe of reſiſtance. At the ſame time the deputies received the moſt ſatisfactory aſſurances that no fears ought to be entertained for the independence of the city of Hamburgh, or the property of individuals; and, further, that his Highneſs would be ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of the gates and walls, without requiring any troops to be quartered in the city. The Senate aſſembled in the night, and unanimouſly reſolved, that it was better to yield to force than to expoſe the city to greater force in conſequence of any reſiſtance. On the morning of the 29th, the gate called The Millenthor, and a part of the fortifications, were immediately given up to a corps of Daniſh troops, and without the leaſt interruption of the public tranquillity. The Britiſh Conſul at Hamburgh, conſidering the critical ſituation of affairs, had given repeated information and advice to the captains of Britiſh veſſels in the Elbe to accelerate their departure. Some took the warning; others, not eaſily believing that anything ſeriouſly hoſtile was to be apprehended from the Danes or Pruſſians, were not in haſte, and were detained accordingly.

CHAPTER XX.

Meaſures adopted by the Engliſh Miniſtry.—A Plenipotentiary extraordinary ſent to Copenhagen, and a large Fleet, under the command of Sir Hyde Parker.—The bloody Battle of Copenhagen, under Lord Nelſon.—A Flag of Truce ſent in.—Death of the Emperor Paul.—His famous Challenge.—The Northern Confederacy broken by that Event, and a Convention agreed upon between Ruſſia and England.—Acceded to, afterwards, by the Kings of Denmark and Sweden.—The liberal Conduct of the Engliſh towards the Danes.

IN ſuch a criſis of affairs, the Engliſh miniſtry adopted a plan ſomewhat ſimilar to that which had been ſo effectual about ſix months before: they ſent a negotiator, backed by a powerful fleet.

Meanwhile, the young King of Sweden, in making a tour of his dominions, for the purpoſe of inſpecting its points of defence, had an interview with the Crown Prince of Denmark, and they mutually concerted the moſt vigorous meaſures of defence. Their great object was, to ſecure the paſſage of the Sound, by erecting ſtrong fortifications and batteries, both on the Swediſh and Daniſh ſides.

Mr. Vanſittart, who was the bearer of diſpatches to the Engliſh miniſter at Copenhagen, arrived at Elſineur, in a frigate, on the 30th March: he was veſted with the powers of a plenipotentiary extraordinary. The *ultimatum* preſented to the Daniſh government required, that Denmark ſhould ſecede

from the Northern alliance; that a free paſſage through the Sound ſhould be granted to the Engliſh fleet; and that the Daniſh ſhips ſhould no longer ſail with convoy. This was rejected; and, accordingly, our miniſters, Mr. Drummond and Mr. Vanſittart, returned home.

A fleet, conſiſting of 18 ſhips of the line, four frigates, and a number of bomb and gun-boats, amounting, in all, to 52 ſail, and having on board ſeveral regiments of marines and of riflemen, ſailed from Yarmouth, on the 12th of March, for the Baltic. In the night between the 22d and 23d it ſailed from Anholt to Gilleleve, on the Northern coaſt of Zealand, and there anchored.

We will now endeavour to give a ſtatement of the confederated navies:

The Daniſh navy conſiſted of 23 ſhips of the line, one or two unfit for ſervice, and moſt of them in bad order. They had 14 frigates, and cutter-brigs from 20 to 40 guns, 17 gun-boats of 24 guns each, together with guardſhips.

The Swedes had 18 ſhips of the line, 14 frigates, ſloops, and other veſſels of war, and 74 gallies and flat-bottomed boats, beſides gun-boats. The Swediſh fleet was ſuppoſed to be better manned than either that of Denmark or Ruſſia.

The whole navy of Ruſſia conſiſted of 82 ſail of the line, beſides near 40 frigates, excluſive of gallies and other ſmall craft: but ſome of theſe were unfit for ſervice, and the greater part badly manned.

This aggregate of naval force, on hoſtile ſhores and narrow and dangerous ſeas, might have been formidable, even to a Britiſh navy, if it could have acted in unity and concert.

The Britiſh Admiral, Sir Hyde Parker, deſirous to know whether the Danes intended to oppoſe his paſſage of the Sound, ſent a Note, on the 27th of March, to the governor of Cronenberg Caſtle, to know whether he would fire if he attempted to paſs: The governor Heer Stricker, replied in an ambiguous manner; which left, however, no doubt of the hoſtile intentions of Denmark. Sir Hyde Parker, accordingly, returned an anſwer, ſaying, "That he conſidered the war as formally declared."

On the 30th of March, the wind having come to the Northward, the Britiſh fleet paſſed the Sound and anchored about five or ſix miles from the Iſland of Huin. It was fired on from the caſtle of Cronenberg, which it bombarded in return. There was no firing from the Swediſh coaſt, ſo that our ſhips were able to keep at a greater diſtance from the caſtle.

It being reſolved to attack the Danes, the Vice-admiral, Lord Nelſon, offered his ſervices to conduct it. After having examined and buoyed the outer channel of the Middle Sound, he proceeded, with 12 ſhips of the line, all the frigates, bombs, fire-ſhips, and all the ſmall veſſels; and, on the ſame evening, April 1, anchored off Draco Point, to make his diſpoſition for the attack, and wait for the wind to the Southward. It was agreed on between the Admiral and Vice-admiral, that the ſhips remaining with the Admiral ſhould weigh at the ſame moment his Lordſhip did, and menace the Crown Batteries, and four Daniſh ſhips of the line, that lay at the entrance of the arſenal; as alſo, to cover our diſabled ſhips as they ſhould come out of the action.

On the morning of April 2d, Lord Nelſon made

the ſignal for the ſquadron to weigh, and to engage the Daniſh line, conſiſting of ſix ſail of the line, 11 floating batteries, of 24 and 18-pounders, and one bomb-ſhip, beſides ſchooner gun-veſſels. Theſe were ſupported by the Crown Iſlands, mounting 88 cannon, and four ſail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, and ſome batteries on the Iſland of Amack. The bomb-ſhip and ſchooner gun-veſſels made their eſcape. The other 17 ſail, being the whole of the Daniſh line to the Southward of the Crown Iſlands, after a battle of four hours, were ſunk, burnt, or taken. The action began at five minutes paſt ten: the Van was led by Captain George Murray, of the Edgar, who ſet a noble example of intrepidity, which was followed by every captain, officer, and man in the navy. The loſs in ſuch a battle was naturally very heavy. The total amount of the killed and wounded was ſtated at 943. Among the killed was the gallant and amiable Captain Riou, and Captain Moſs, of the Monarch: among the wounded, Sir Thomas B. Thompſon, of the Bellona, who loſt his leg.

The carnage on board the Daniſh ſhips was exceſſive; it was calculated by the Commander in Chief, Oliver Fiſher, at 1,800! The veſſels were crowded with men; and, from ſome ſingular neglect, (probably originating in the idea of the wounded being ſo near the city that they could be immediately accommodated there) there was not on board each block-ſhips a ſingle ſurgeon: when our people boarded them they found hundreds bleeding to death! As ſoon as the fire of the Daniſh line had ſlackened, and Lord Nelſon perceived that the ſhips and batteries of the enemy were in his power, he went to his

cabin, and wrote a Letter to the Prince Royal, repreſenting the expediency of allowing a flag of truce to paſs; and ſtating, that, if this was denied, he ſhould be under the neceſſity of deſtroying the floating batteries, now in his power, while it would be impoſſible to ſave thoſe brave men by whom they were defended. This Note was addreſſed, "To the brothers of Engliſhmen, the Danes." When, in conſequence of this repreſentation, he received permiſſion to land, and went on ſhore to adjuſt terms of conciliation, he was received by the brave and generous Danes with the loudeſt acclamations, and treated by the accompliſhed Prince of Denmark with every mark of reſpect. The immediate conſequence of their conference was an armiſtice, which ſoon led to an amicable Convention.

This was a memorable and a moſt bloody engagement: the Danes fought with inconceivable intrepidity. Lord Nelſon told the Crown Prince's aid-du camp, Colonel Lundholm, who waited upon him reſpecting the proffered flag of truce, that "The French fought bravely, but that they could not have ſtood an hour the fight which the Danes maintained for four. I have been in 105 engagements," ſaid he, "in the courſe of my life, but that of to-day was the moſt terrible of all."

The Swediſh fleet at Carlſcroon, left that port the 31ſt of March, but was prevented from joining the Danes by contrary winds.

On the 22d of March the Daniſh and Swediſh iſles in the Weſt Indies were reduced, by a ſquadron under Admiral Duckworth.

The propoſals made by Lord Nelſon, in the conference with the Prince of Denmark, are ſaid to

have been theſe:—1ſt. That Denmark ſhould recede from its alliance with Ruſſia:—2d. That the Engliſh ſhould be permitted to repair their ſhips in the Daniſh docks.—3d. That the wounded on board of the Engliſh fleet ſhould be taken care of in Daniſh hoſpitals. The laſt of theſe conditions was readily granted, the others rejected. An armiſtice, however, was agreed to, and prolonged from day to day. A notice of ſix hours, in caſe of an intention of renewing hoſtilities on either ſide, was to be given previouſly to the termination of the armiſtice.

It is evident that there were ſome points not eaſily agreed upon, and which impeded a ſolid pacification between this country and Denmark. But, whatever they might have been, they were done away by a fortunate event, which happened at this momentous period—the death of the Emperor Paul; a tyrannical madman, whoſe capricious fancies were the only impulſes of his conduct, and who was the very ſoul and moving principle of this Northern Confederacy. He was found dead in his bed on the night of the 23d of March. This ſudden and important event was joyful to all—France excepted, who had promiſed itſelf advantages, from the frantic paſſions of Paul, which it could never hope from the ſedate councils of a wiſe and prudent monarch.

To detail the many mad and extravagant actions of this monarch would be tedious and diſguſting: they are, in fact, like thoſe of every other fool or idiot. Yet, as a precious morſel of infanity, we will record to poſterity his famous Challenge to the potentates of Europe.

A few days before the young King of Sweden (who had gone to concert the meaſures of the Armed

Neutrality) left Peterſburgh, the Emperor gave a tournament, a diverſion of which he was very fond, and in which he performed, perſonally, as a combatant. In the evening, while the glaſs was in circulation, a diſpatch was received from Buonaparté, together with ſeveral caricatures, ſaid to be publiſhed in England, in which Paul was repreſented as a lunatic. The converſation turned on the military ſucceſſes of his new French friends; the projects formed by the Northern Confederacy to humble the pride of England, and the invincible proweſs which the Emperor had diſplayed all day long in the tournament. His Majeſty, fired with the ſpirit of chivalry, immediately reſolved to ſend a defiance to all the potentates of Europe. The court gazette of St. Peterſburgh, December 30th, 1800, contained the following: "It is ſaid, that his Majeſty the Emperor, ſeeing that the powers of Europe cannot agree, and wiſhing to terminate a war which has raged eleven years, intends to propoſe a plan, where he will invite all other potentates to fight with them, in barriers cloſed up: for which purpoſe, they are to bring with them their moſt enlightened miniſters and moſt ſkilful generals, as ſquires, umpires, and heralds; ſuch as Thugut, Pitt, and Bernſtorff. He, himſelf, intends to have with him Count Vander Pahlin, and Count Rutoſoff."

It cannot be thought ſurpriſing that ſo mad a king ſhould find enemies. The Court gave out that he died of an apoplexy; but it has, ſince, been well known that his death was the effect of a conſpiracy. It matters not, however, which way he died: the effects, were to all Europe, France excepted, moſt inſtantaneous and ſalutary. The new Emperor,

Alexander, who was immediately proclaimed, declared for the laws and ſyſtem of his auguſt grandmother. It was among the firſt acts of his reign to releaſe all thoſe Britiſh ſeamen who had been thrown into priſon by Paul. All prohibitions againſt the exportation of corn were removed, and the exportation of all kinds of grain permitted. Peace and good underſtanding were re-eſtabliſhed between the Courts of London and Peterſburgh, and all diſputes between Great Britain and the Northern Powers were amicably adjuſted. The following Convention was agreed to between this country and Ruſſia:

CONVENTION

With the COURT OF LONDON; *ſigned at* ST. PETERSBURGH *the 5th*, (*17th June*,) 1801.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

The mutual deſire of his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, and of his Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being, not only to come to an underſtanding between themſelves, with reſpect to the differences which have lately interrupted the good underſtanding and friendly relations which ſubſiſted between the two States; but, alſo, to prevent, by frank and preciſe explanations upon the navigation of their reſpective ſubjects, the renewal of ſimilar altercations and troubles, which might be the conſequence of them; and the object of the ſolicitude of their ſaid Majeſties being, to ſettle, as ſoon as can be done, an equitable arrangement of thoſe differences, and an invariable determination of their principles upon the rights of neutrality, in their application to their reſpective monarchies; in order to unite more cloſely the ties of friendſhip and good intercourſe, of which they acknowledge the utility and the benefits, have named and choſen for their plenipotentiaries, viz; his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, the Sieur Nikita,

Count de Panin, his Counſellor, &c. and his Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Alleyne, Baron St. Helens, Privy Counſellor, &c. who, after having communicated their full powers, and found them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following points and articles:

Art. I. There ſhall be, hereafter, between his Imperial Majeſty of all the Ruſſias, and his Britannic Majeſty, their ſubjects, the ſtates, and countries under their domination, good and unalterable friendſhip and underſtanding; and all the political, commercial, and other relations of common utility, between the reſpective ſubjects ſhall ſubſiſt, as formerly, without their being diſturbed or troubled in any manner whatever.

Art. II. His Majeſty the Emperor, and his Britannic Majeſty, declare, that they will take the moſt eſpecial care of the execution of the prohibitions againſt the trade of contraband of their ſubjects with the enemies of each of the high Contracting Parties.

Art. III. His Imperial Majeſty of all the Ruſſias, and his Britannic Majeſty, having reſolved to place under a ſufficient ſafeguard, the freedom of commerce and navigation of their ſubjects, in caſe one of them ſhall be at war whilſt the other ſhall be neuter, have agreed,

1. That the ſhips of the neutral power ſhall navigate freely to the ports and upon the coaſts of the nations at war.

2. That the effects embarked on board neutral ſhips ſhall be free, with the exception of contraband of war, and of enemy's property; and it is agreed not to comprife in the number of the latter the merchandiſe of the produce, growth, or manufacture of the countries at war, which ſhould have been acquired by the ſubjects of the neutral power, and ſhould be tranſported for their account, which merchandiſe cannot be excepted, in any caſe, from the freedom granted to the flag of the ſame power.

3. That, in order to avoid all equivocation and misunderstanding of what ought to be qualified as contraband of war, his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic Majesty declare, conformably to the 11th Article of the Treaty of Commerce, concluded between the two crowns on the 10th (21st) February, 1797, that they acknowledge as such only the following objects; viz. cannons, mortars, fire-arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, firelocks, flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, helmets, pikes, swords, swordbelts, pouches, saddles and bridles; excepting, however, the quantity of the said articles which may be necessary for the defence of the ship and of those who compose the crew; and all other articles whatever, not enumerated here, shall not be reputed warlike and naval ammunition, nor be subject to confiscation, and, of course, pass freely, without being subject to the smallest difficulty, unless they be considered as enemy's property in the above-settled sense. It is also agreed, that that which is stipulated in the present Article shall not be to the prejudice of the particular stipulations of one or the other crowns with other powers, by which objects of similar kind should be reserved, prohibited, or permitted.

4. That, in order to determine what characterizes a blockaded port, that denomination is given only to that where there is, by the disposition of the power which attacks it with ships stationary, or sufficiently near, an evident danger in entering.

5. That the ships of the neutral power shall not be stopped but upon just causes and evident facts: that they be tried without delay; and that the proceeding be always uniform, prompt, and legal.

In order the better to ensure the respect due to these stipulations, dictated by the sincere desire of conciliating all interests, and to give a new proof of their loyalty and love of justice, the high Contracting Parties enter here into the most formal engagements, to renew the severest prohibitions to their captains, either of ships of war or merchantmen, to take, keep, or conceal on board their ships, any of

the objects, which, in the terms of the prefent Convention, may be reputed contraband, and refpectively to take care of the execution of the orders, which they fhall have publifhed in their admiralties and wherever it fhall be neceffary.

IV. The Two high Contracting Parties, wifhing to prevent all fubjects of difcuffion in future, by limiting the right of fearch of merchant fhips going under convoy to the fole caufes in which the belligerent power may experience a real prejudice, by the abufe of the neutral flag, have agreed:

1. That the right of fearching merchant fhips belonging to the fubjects of one of the Contracting Powers, and navigating under convoy of a fhip of war of the faid power, fhall only be exercifed by fhips of war of the belligerent party, and fhall never extend to the fitters-out of privateers or other veffels which do not belong to the imperial or royal fleet of their Majefties, but which their fubjects fhall have fitted out for war.

2. That the proprietors of all merchant fhips belonging to the fubjects of one of the Contracting Sovereigns, which fhall be deftined to fail under convoy of a fhip of war, fhall be required, before they recieve their failing orders, to produce to the commander of the convoy their paffports and certificates, or fea letters, in the form annexed to the prefent Treaty.

3. That when fuch fhips of war, and every merchant fhip under convoy, fhall be met with by a fhip or fhips of war of the other contracting party, who fhall then be in a ftate of war; in order to avoid all diforder, they fhall keep out of cannon-fhot, unlefs the fituation of the fea, or the place of meeting, render a nearer approach neceffary; and the commander of the fhip of the belligerent power fhall fend a floop on board the convoy, where they fhall proceed, reciprocally, to the verification of the papers and certificates that are to prove, on one part, that the fhip of war is authorifed to take under its efcort fuch or fuch merchant fhips of its nation, laden with fuch a cargo, and for fuch a

port: on the other part, that the ſhip of war of the belligerent party belongs to the imperial or royal fleet of their Majeſties.

4. This verification made, there ſhall be no pretence for any ſearch, if the papers are found in due form, and if there exiſts no good motive for ſuſpicion. In the contrary caſe, the captain of the neutral ſhip of war (being duly required thereto by the captain of the ſhip of war or ſhips of war of the belligerent power) is to bring to and detain his convoy during the time neceſſary for the ſearch of the ſhips which compoſe it, and he ſhall have the faculty of naming and delegating one or more officers to aſſiſt at the ſearch of the ſaid ſhip, which ſhall be done in his preſence on board each merchant ſhip, conjointly with one or more officers ſelected by the captain of the ſhip of the belligerent party.

5. If it happen that the captain of the ſhip or ſhips of war of the power at war, having examined the papers found on board, and having interrogated the maſter and crew of the ſhip, ſhall ſee juſt and ſufficient reaſon to detain the merchant ſhip, in order to proceed to an ulterior ſearch, he ſhall notify that intention to the captain of the convoy, who ſhall have the power to order an officer to remain on board the ſhip thus detained and to aſſiſt at the examination of the cauſe of her detention. The merchant ſhip ſhall be carried, immediately, to the neareſt and moſt convenient port belonging to the belligerent power, and the ulterior ſearch ſhall be carried on with all poſſible diligence.

V. It is alſo agreed, That if any merchant ſhips thus convoyed ſhould be detained without juſt and ſufficient cauſe, the commander of the ſhip or ſhips of war of the belligerent power ſhall not only be bound to make to the owners of the ſhip and of the cargo a full and perfect compenſation for all the loſſes, expenſes, damages, and coſts, occaſioned by ſuch a detention, but ſhall, further, be liable to an ulterior puniſhment for every act of violence or other fault which he may have committed, according as the na-

ture of the caſe may require. On the other hand, no ſhips of war with a convoy ſhall be permitted, under any pretext whatſoever, to reſiſt by force the detention of a merchant ſhip or ſhips by the ſhip or ſhips of war of the belligerent power; an obligation which the commander of a ſhip of war with convoy is not bound to obſerve towards privateers and their fitters out.

VI. The high Contracting Powers ſhall give preciſe and efficacious orders, that the ſentences upon prizes made at ſea ſhall be conformable with the rules of the moſt exact juſtice and equity; that they ſhall be given by judges above ſuſpicion, and who ſhall not be intereſted in the matter. The Government of the reſpective States ſhall take care that the ſaid ſentences ſhall be promptly and duly executed, according to the forms preſcribed. In caſe of the unfounded detention, or other contravention of the regulations ſtipulated by the preſent Treaty, the owners of ſuch ſhip and cargo ſhall be allowed damages proportioned to the loſs occaſioned by ſuch detention. The rules to obſerve for theſe damages, and for the caſe of unfounded detention, as alſo the principles to follow for the purpoſe of accelerating the proceſs, ſhall be the matter of additional Articles, which the Contracting Parties agree to ſettle between them, and which ſhall have the ſame force and validity as if they were inſerted in the preſent Act. For this effect their Imperial and Britannic Majeſties mutually engage to put their ſtipulations, and to communicate to each other, without delay, the views which may be ſuggeſted to them by their equal ſolicitude to prevent the leaſt grounds for diſpute in future.

VII. To obviate all the inconveniencies which may ariſe from the bad faith of thoſe who avail themſelves of the flag of a nation without belonging to it, it is agreed to eſtabliſh, for an inviolable rule, that any veſſel whatever, to be conſidered as the property of the country the flag of which it carries, muſt have on board the captain of the ſhip and one half of the crew of the people of that country, and the papers and paſsports in due and perfect form;

but every veſſel which ſhall not obſerve this rule, and which ſhall infringe the ordinances publiſhed on that head, ſhall loſe all rights to the protection of the Contracting Powers.

VIII. The principles and meaſures adopted by the preſent Act ſhall be alike applicable to all the maritime wars in which one of the two Powers may be engaged whilſt the other remains neutral. Theſe Stipulations ſhall, in conſequence, be regarded as permanent, and ſhall ſerve for a conſtant rule to the Contracting Powers in matters of commerce and navigation.

IX. His Majeſty the King of Denmark, and his Majeſty the King of Sweden, ſhall be immediately invited by his Imperial Majeſty, in the name of the Two Contracting Parties, to accede to the preſent Convention, and, at the ſame time, to renew and confirm their reſpective treaties of commerce with his Britannic Majeſty; and his ſaid Majeſty engages, by acts which ſhall have eſtabliſhed that agreement, to render and reſtore to each of theſe powers all the prizes that have been taken from them, as well as the territories and countries under their domination, which have been conquered by the arms of his Britannic Majeſty ſince the rupture, in the ſtate in which thoſe poſſeſſions were found at the period at which the troops of his Britannic Majeſty entered them. The orders of his ſaid Majeſty for the reſtitution of thoſe prizes and conqueſts ſhall be immediately expedited after the exchange of the ratification of the acts by which Sweden and Denmark ſhall accede to the preſent Treaty.

X. The preſent Convention ſhall be ratified by the Two Contracting Parties, and the ratifications exchanged, at St. Peterſburgh, in the ſpace of two months, at fartheſt, from the day of the ſignature. In faith of which, the reſpective Plenipotentiaries have cauſed to be made two copies, perfectly ſimilar, ſigned with their hands, and have ſealed with their arms.

(L. S.) N. COUNT DE PANIN.
(L. S.) St. HELEN'S.

Done at Petersburgh, the 5th (17th) June, 1801.

By this Convention the Northern Powers obtained two considerable points: first, a limitation of the right of search; and, secondly, a diminution of articles deemed contraband of war. The negotiation, however, was too intricate and too important to the Contracting Parties to be at once finally settled: the following separate Articles and explanations were, afterwards, added; and which we here give, not only from their real interest, but because, at this moment, apprehensions are entertained of a similar confederacy being established.

First separate Article of the CONVENTION *with the* COURT OF LONDON; *signed the 5th (17th) June*, 1801.

The pure and magnanimous intentions of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias having already induced him to restore the vessels and goods of British subjects, which had been sequestered in Russia, his said Majesty confirms that disposition in its whole extent; and his Britannic Majesty engages also to give immediate orders for taking off all sequestration laid upon the Russian, Danish, and Swedish properties detained in English ports; and, to prove still more his sincere desire to terminate amicably the differences which have arisen between Great Britain and the Northern Courts; and in order that no new incident may throw obstacles in the way of this salutary work, his Britannic Majesty binds himself to give orders to the commanders of his forces by land and sea, that the armistice now subsisting with the Courts of Denmark and Sweden shall be prolonged for a term of three months, from the date of this day; and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, guided by the same motives, undertakes, in the name of his Allies, to have his armistice maintained during the said term.

Second separate Article of the CONVENTION *with the* COURT OF LONDON; *signed at Petersburgh, the 5th (17th) of June*, 1801.

The differences and misunderstandings which subsisted

between his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias and his Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being thus terminated, and the precautions taken by the preſent Convention not giving farther room to fear that they may be able to diſturb, in future, the harmony and good underſtanding which the Two high Contracting Parties have at heart to conſolidate; their ſaid Majeſties confirm anew, by the preſent Convention, the treaty of commerce of the 10th (February 21, 1797) of which all the ſtipulations are here repeated, to be maintained in their whole extent.

Additional Articles to the CONVENTION *between* ENGLAND *and* RUSSIA, *of the 17th of June*, 1801.

It having been reſolved, by the 5th Article of the Convention, concluded on the 17th of June, 1801, between his Imperial Majeſty of Ruſſia and his Britannic Majeſty, that both the high Contracting Powers ſhould mutually agree upon certain ſeparate Articles for the eſtabliſhing of thoſe rules and principles which are to be followed, with a view to promote a ſpeedy deciſion in reſpect to prizes made in the open ſea, as well as with reſpect to the indemnification which is due to the proprietors of neutral ſhips and cargoes, in caſe of a groundleſs detention: their Majeſties have, for that purpoſe, named, and veſted with full power: his Imperial Majeſty of Ruſſia, Alexander, Prince Kurakin, his Vice-chancellor, &c.; and Victor Count Kotſchoubey, his actual Privy Counſellor, &c.: and his Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Alleyne, Lord Baron St. Helen's, Peer of the ſaid United Kingdom, &c.; who, by virtue of their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Art. I. In caſe of a groundleſs detention, or other tranſgreſſion of rules mutually eſtabliſhed, there ſhall be paid to the owners of the ſhips ſo detained, and of their cargo, for each day's delay, a recompenſe, in proportion to the loſs ſuſtained, reckoning according to the freight of the ſhip and the quality of the cargo.

Art. II. In case the ministers of the Contracting Parties, or other persons accredited by them with the belligerent powers, shall happen to complain of the sentence given on such prizes by the respective courts of admiralty, the business shall be immediately referred by appeal, in Russia, to the Directing Senate; and, in Great Britain, to the King's Council.

III. Both sides shall carefully examine whether the regulations and provisions in the present Convention have been observed, which must be done in the speediest manner. Both Contracting Parties engage, farther, to adopt the most effectual means to prevent every unnecessary delay in respect to the sentences to be pronounced in the respective tribunals, on prizes made in the open sea.

IV. The effects detained shall neither be sold nor unloaded before a final sentence, unless in the case of a really pressing necessity, shewn to the Court of Admiralty by a commission appointed for that purpose; and it shall by no means be permitted to the captors to unload of their own authority, or carry away anything from ships so detained.

These separate Articles, which form a part of the Convention signed on the 17th of June, in the names of their Imperial Russian and Britannic Majesties, shall have the same force and effect as if they were, word for word, inserted in the said Convention.

(Signed) PRINCE KURAKIN.
COUNT KOTSCHOUBEY.
S. HELENS.

Moscow, October 20, 1801.

DECLARATION, *explanatory of the Second Section of the Third Article of the* CONVENTION, *concluded at* PETERSBURGH, *the 5th (17th) of June*, 1801, *between his* MAJESTY *and the* EMPEROR OF RUSSIA; *signed at Moscow the 8th (20th) October*, 1801.

In order to prevent any doubt or misunderstanding with regard to the contents of the Second Section of the Third Article of the Convention, concluded the 5th (17th) June,

1801, between his Britannic Majesty and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; the said high Contracting Parties have agreed and declare, that the freedom of commerce and navigation, granted by the said Article to the subjects of a neutral power, does not authorise them to carry, in time of war, the produce or merchandise of any of the colonies of the belligerent power direct to the continental possessions, nor *vice versâ*, from the mother country to the enemy's colonies; but that the said subjects are, however, to enjoy the same advantages and facilities in this commerce as are enjoyed by the most favoured nations, and especially by the United States of America.

In witness whereof, we, Plenipotentiaries of their said Majesties, have signed the present Declaration, and have affixed the seals of our arms thereto.

(L.S.) ST. HELENS.
(L.S.) LE PRINCE DE KURAKIN.
(L.S.) LE COMTE DE KOTSCHOUBEY.

At Moscow, 8th (30th October, 1801.

While the negotiation was going on we had a fleet in the Baltic of 25 sail of the line, and nearly 45 frigates, sloops, bombs, and gun-vessels. The chief division of the fleet, under Lord Nelson and Admiral Graves, lay in Kioge Bay; and another, under Admiral Totty, off Bornholm; Captain Murray, with a small squadron, was off Dantzic; and Lord H. Poulett cruised, with a few ships, off Rostoc. The Danish troops evacuated Hamburgh; and the free navigation of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems, was restored; and the Court of Berlin gave assurances that the Prussian troops should evacuate Hanover.

Denmark, who had been the only sufferer in this war, was not backward to enter on the career of peace. By the following Act she recognised the Treaty which had been signed between England and

Ruſſia: and Sweden following ſomewhat later, alſo recognized it, and thus was this formidable Conſpiracy broken and diſperſed.

ACT OF ACCESSION *of his Majeſty the King of* DENMARK *and* NORWAY *to the Convention of the 5th (17th) June, 1801; and Acceptance of his Majeſty the King of the* UNITED KINGDOM *of* GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND.

His Majeſty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, having, in purſuance of their mutual deſire to terminate, in the moſt equitable manner, the differences which had ariſen between them, as well as between Great Britain and the other maritime powers of the North, reſpecting the navigation of their reſpective ſubjects, concluded a Convention, ſigned by their Plenipotentiaries at St Peterſburgh, the 5th (17th) of June, of the preſent year; and their common ſolicitude extending itſelf not only to prevent ſimilar altercations in future, and the troubles that might reſult therefrom, by eſtabliſhing and applying the principles and rights of neutrality in their reſpective monarchies, but alſo to render this ſyſtem common and equally advantageous to the maritime powers of the North; it was ſtipulated by the Ninth Article of the ſaid Convention, that his Daniſh Majeſty ſhould be invited by his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, in the name of the high Contracting Parties, to accede to the ſaid Convention; and his Majeſty the King of Denmark and Norway, animated with the ſame ſentiments of conciliation and peace, and deſirous of removing everything that has interrupted, or might hereafter interrupt, the good underſtanding between their Britannic and Daniſh Majeſties, and to re-eſtabliſh fully, on its former footing, the ancient harmony and ſtate of things, ſuch as they exiſted by his Daniſh Majeſties treaties and conventions with Great Britain; his ſaid Majeſty has not heſitated to liſten to the invitation made

to him to accede to the ſaid Convention, ſigned at St. Peterſburgh, the 5th, (17th) of June laſt.

To effect this ſalutary purpoſe, and to give to this act of acceſſion, and to the acceptance of his Britannic Majeſty, every poſſible authenticity, and every accuſtomed ſolemnity; their ſaid Majeſties have named for their Plenipotentiaries: viz. his Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Alleyne, Lord Baron St. Helens, a Peer of the ſaid United Kingdom; of his ſaid Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, and his Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias: and his Majeſty, the King of Denmark and Norway, the Sieur Francis Favier Joſeph, Count de Dannefkiold Louvendal, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Knight of the Order of St. John of Jeruſalem, Major-general in the ſervice of his Daniſh Majeſty, Commander of his Marine Forces, and his Envoy Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias; who, after having reciprocally exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have concluded and agreed, that all the Articles of the Convention concluded between his Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, the 5th (17th) June of the preſent year, as well as the ſeparate Articles annexed thereto, and the additional ones, concluded the 8th (20th) October, 1801, by the Plenipotentiaries of their ſaid Majeſties, in all the clauſes, conditions, and obligations, are to be conſidered as having been agreed upon, done, and concluded, word for word, by their Britannic and Daniſh Majeſties themſelves, in quality of principal Contracting Parties; ſave and except the differences which reſult from the nature of the treaties and engagements antecedently ſubſiſting between England and Denmark, of which the continuance and renewal are ſecured by the aforeſaid Convention; and with the expreſs ſtipulation, on the part of the high Contracting and Acceding Parties, that

the ſtipulation of the Second Article of the Additional Articles, ſigned at Moſcow the 8th (20th) October, 1801, by the plenipotentiaries of their Britannic and Imperial Majeſties, which fixes that the adjudication of cauſes in litigation, ſhall, in the laſt reſort, be carried by appeal; in Ruſſia, before the Directing Senate; and, in Great Britain, before his Majeſty's Privy Council, is to be underſtood, as with regard to Denmark, that the ſaid adjudications ſhall be then carried by appeal before the ſupreme tribunal of that kingdom.

In order to prevent any inaccuracy, it has been agreed that the ſaid Convention, ſigned the 5th (17th) June, the ſeparate Articles annexed thereto, and the additional ones concluded the 8th (20th) October, 1801, ſhould be inſerted here, word for word.

[*Fiat Inſertio*]

In conſequence of all which his Majeſty the King of Denmark accedes, by virtue of the preſent Act, to the ſaid Convention, and to the ſaid ſeparate and additional Articles, ſuch as they are hereinbefore tranſcribed, without any exception or reſerve; declaring and promiſing to fulfil all the clauſes, conditions, and obligations thereof, as far as regards himſelf: and his Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, accepts the preſent acceſſion of his Daniſh Majeſty; and, in like manner, promiſes, on his part, to fulfil all the articles, clauſes, and conditions, contained in the ſaid Convention, and the ſeparate and additional Articles hereinbefore inſerted, without any exception or reſerve.

The ratifications of the preſent Act of Acceſſion and Acceptance ſhall be exchanged in the ſpace of two months, or ſooner, if poſſible; and the ſtipulations of the ſaid Convention ſhall, at the ſame time, be carried into execution as ſpeedily as poſſible, regard being had to the full and entire re-eſtabliſhment of the ſtate of things, ſuch as it was before the period of the miſunderſtandings, which are now ſo happily terminated.

In witneſs thereof, we, the underſigned, by virtue of our full powers, have ſigned the preſent Act, and have thereunto affixed the ſeal of our arms.

Done at Moscow, the 11th
(23d) October, 1801.

(L. S.) ST. HELENS.
(L. S.) F. X. CT. DE DANNESKIOLD.
LOWENDAL.

The termination of hoſtilities between Great Britain and Denmark was highly gratifying to both parties. The Prince of Denmark ſent a Letter to his uncle, our King, by the honourable Colonel Stuart. When the embargo that had been laid on the Daniſh ſhips in the Britiſh ports, was, in conſequence of the pacification, taken off, the expenſe, both of laying it on and taking it off, was defrayed out of the Engliſh treaſury; an act of mildneſs and liberality which was equally gratifying to both countries.

CHAPTER XXI.

Some general Remarks reſpecting Buonaparté's Views upon this Country, and his projected Invaſion of it.—The Alarm excited by his Threats and Preparations.—The prudent Vigilance of our Miniſtry.—The warlike Appearance of England.—Our immenſe naval Strength at this Period.—Capture of ſome Engliſh Frigates.—Battle between Sir James Saumarez and Admiral Linois, off Algeſiras.—Its unſucceſsful Termination.—Second Battle, and its ſplendid Succeſs. Vain boaſting and glorying of the French.—Change of Miniſtry.—Sir Sidney Smith's Penſion.—Prorogation of Parliament.

BUONAPARTE, vexed and diſappointed at this amicable adjuſtment of our affairs in the North, and daily receiving news of the proſperous iſſue of our arms in Egypt, felt himſelf, as it were, cut off from all hopes and poſſibility of annoying us externally: yet the ſame motives for action, of ſome ſort, ſtill prevailed in his mind; nor was he influenced leſs by political rancor than by political ſubtilty. England, he foreſaw, would be a conſtant impediment in his way; it might not, indeed from its ſituation, it could not, operate immediately to his prejudice, by checking or ſubverting any act of his, or any ſchemes of ambition: but ſtill it would be a thorn to him, a ſpider in his ſight, which he could not bruſh away; a conſtant enemy, whoſe motions would perpetually excite his alarms; and a powerful one, who might annihilate his navy, and, ultimately, ſhake his own power. We are firmly of opinion, that Buonaparté, notwithſtanding his ſanguine character, and the g-

gantic plans which his mind has deviſed, and his proweſs executed, never ſeriouſly believed it poſſible to effect any thing upon our own ſhores; he never entertained ſo bold a hope as that of conquering us on land. Affecting to conſider us merely as a commercial nation, who drew all its ſtrength, its very life-blood, from trade, it was always his favourite project to deſtroy our commerce, and ſhut us up in our iſland; but that muſt now be abandoned, for the preſent, and other ſchemes reſorted to; among which the moſt prominent was that of Invaſion.

We have not yet forgotten how this tocſin was rung in our ears, and what alarms were excited throughout England, and eſpecially on the coaſts, where it was, every day, expected a French army would land, ravage all before them, march up to London, ſend the King to the tower, murder the princes, marry the princeſſes to French generals, and ſeat, perhaps, a Buonaparté on the throne of England! Fears, even more extravagant and abſurd than theſe were felt and promulgated, by certain croakers, who ſcented ſlaughter like a raven: we were to be utterly annihilated; expatriated: England was to be coloniſed from France and become a maritime department! But it were endleſs to remember half the frantic and irrational fears of this moment. But, while we ridicule the apprehenſions of the weak, let us not forget the valour of the brave: there was a unanimity of ſentiment, an ardour, a confidence, and a proud defiance, prevailing ſo univerſally throughout the kingdom, that, had it been brought to the iſſue, our brave armies going to the field might have been compared to the bands of Lacedemonians who oppoſed the overwhelming torrents of Xerxes. Aware

of this ſpirit, which animated all ranks of people, Buonaparté felt ſtill more deeply the hopeleſſneſs of ſuch an enterpriſe: yet it was convenient to foſter the idea of invaſion.

He made great preparations: a grand camp was formed at Amiens; it was occupied by detachments from what was called *The choſen Army*, commanded by General Murat, and was ſtrengthened, from time to time, by additional numbers: a camp was alſo formed between Bruges and Oſtend; another between Gravelines and Dunkirk; and a fourth at Boulogne: this laſt was the principal point whence the invading army were to proceed. Theſe four camps, by the month of July 1801, were occupied by a great number of troops, among whom were many emigrant Iriſhmen. The building of ſhips, and other preparations for an immenſe naval armament, was carried on with great activity all along the Dutch and Flemiſh coaſts as well as thoſe of France. Rumors were induſtriouſly ſpread, and credited, that numerous armies were to be tranſported, in French and Spaniſh ſhips, over to England. Certain it is, that, after the Peace of Luneville, Buonaparté had a very great diſpoſable force: all was in motion from the mouth of the Scheldt to the mouth of the Garonne. The iſlands of Jerſey and Gurnſey were threatened with immediate invaſion. The combined fleets of France and Spain, that lay in the harbour of Breſt, amounted, as early as January 1801, to 52 ſail of the line!

Buonaparté, in order to combine his preparations at land with his preparations by ſea, and to reſtore and improve the navy, had lately divided the whole extent of the ſea-coaſts of France into ſix maritime

prefectures; namely, thoſe of Breſt, Toulon, L'Orient, Rochfort, Havre, and Antwerp. Not only ſhips, but gunboats and flat bottomed boats, were equipped, under the direction of the prefects, along the whole line of the coaſts. Redoubts were thrown up, and furnaces prepared for the heating of balls, in places ſuppoſed to be moſt liable to attacks by the Engliſh. Telegraphs were erected, for communication among the different prefectures, with one another, and with Paris. Proclamations were iſſued, from time to time, by the prefects, calculated to animate the courage and the hopes of the French ſeamen.

The Britiſh Government beheld theſe preparations with prudent anxiety: they hardly feared the iſſue, yet they were too wiſe to deſpiſe the attempt. The whole nation, individually and collectively ſpeaking, was anxious to meet the French, and to give a practical illuſtration of the received maxim, that "one Engliſhman can beat two Frenchmen:" for, notwithſtanding the ſplendid ſucceſſes of the French on the continent during the war, and the undoubted claims they poſſeſs to military heroiſm and courage; yet we are firmly convinced that two thirds of the Britiſh army cheriſhed that opinion of their own ſuperiority: it was a uſeful one, which would produce ſolid advantages in the day of trial.

England, at this time, aſſumed a warlike appearance: field days and reviews were to be ſeen in every town, and almoſt in every pariſh; volunteers daily underwent the ſevereſt diſcipline: the mechanic and the tradeſman forſook his tools and his ſhop and marched along, with the muſket on his ſhoulder; they were ready to proceed to any place where the enemy might land, or to take upon themſelves garriſon duty,

if it ſhould be thought neceſſary to withdraw the regulars. Towards the end of July, when the preparations of the enemy were ſo forward as to menace an actual attempt, ſtrong piquet guards were mounted all along the coaſt, and orders iſſued for all the volunteers of the Southern diſtricts to be alert and in a ſtate of preparation to march on a moment's warning. Four complete parks of artillery, forming a hollow ſquare, were ſo arranged, at Woolwich, as to be able to ſet off, at a moment's warning, to any part of the country. The horſes were harneſſed in the centre, and the drivers and engineers ſlept on the ſpot. In the rear of the guns (which were, in general, 9 and 12 pounders) were the *chevaux-de-friſe* and ammunition waggons.

Such were, in part, the land arrangements which were made; various orders were likewiſe iſſued, as to the marching of the troops, in caſe of neceſſity; their mode of cantonment, quartering, &c. and the manner of their being proviſioned.

At ſea, along the whole Channel, from the Nore to Falmouth, a ſyſtem of night ſignals was employed, to announce any approach of danger: frigates and gunboats were ſtationed at proper places near the Britiſh ſhore. The return of the Baltic fleet, while it added to the amount of our diſpoſable naval force, inſpired, if poſſible, into our ſeamen and marines ſtill higher ſentiments of courage, honour, and glory. Such was the immenſity of our navy, that our fleets, ſquadrons, and cruiſers, blockaded the enemy in their principal ports and watched their flotillas of gunboats, (while they endeavoured, with various ſucceſs, to ſculk cloſe to the ſhore, from one place to another) and annoyed and cruſhed their trade in every quarter

of the world. A chain of Engliſh veſſels of war ſtretched along the whole extent of the French coaſt on the Channel, generally about two or three miles from land.

So great, at this time, was the immenſe ſtrength of the navy of England, that ſhe had a fleet in the Indian Ocean; a fleet in the Red Sea; a fleet at the Mouth of the Nile; two fleets in or near the Mediterranean; a ſmall fleet in the Baltic; a fleet in the Weſt Indies; detached cruiſers and convoy-ſhips in every direction; and a Channel fleet: while a flotilla of veſſels, of different deſcriptions, under the command of Lord Nelſon (who was inveſted with the ſupreme command of maritime affairs from the Land's End to Yarmouth) guarded the Britiſh ſhores, and ſtruck terror into thoſe of France!

About this time two of our ſhips were captured by the French, who made great boaſting on the occaſion. One, the Swiftſure, commanded by Captain Hollowell, was taken, by the *whole French fleet!* under Gantheaume, in the Mediterranean: the other was captured by the French ſquadron under Admiral Linois, on the Spaniſh coaſt, near Cadiz. This ſquadron, conſiſting of two ſhips, carrying each 80 guns; one carrying 74; and a frigate, beſides cutters, on the 4th July, lay at anchor off Algeſiras: Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez, informed of this, went in queſt of them, with a ſuperior fleet. Having ſtood through the Straits, from the Mediterranean, and opened Cabareta Point, he found that the ſhips lay at a conſiderable diſtance from the batteries on ſhore: encouraged by this circumſtance, and by a leading wind, he reſolved to attack them.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 5th the

Engliſh ſquadron, with ſprings on their cables, advanced to the French ſhips, in order to come to the cloſeſt action poſſible. Captain Hood, in the Venerable, led the ſquadron with his accuſtomed gallantry, but, from the failing of the wind, was obliged to cast anchor. Captain Stirling anchored oppoſite the inner ſhip of the enemy, and brought the Pompey to action in the moſt ſpirited manner. Captain Darby, of the Spencer, and Captain Ferris, of the Hannibal, from light winds, were prevented, for a conſiderable time, from coming into action. At length the Hannibal getting a breeze, Captain Ferris had the moſt favourable proſpect of getting alongſide of one of the enemy's ſhips; when ſhe, unfortunately, ran aground. Sir James Saumarez, with his own ſhip, the Cæſar, and the Audacious, made every poſſible effort to run between the Hannibal and the French batteries and ſquadron, to cover, and to enable her to extricate herſelf from the difficulty into which ſhe had fallen: but the wind did not favour this bold manœuvre; and being at that critical time only three cables length from one of the enemy's batteries, he was under the neceſſity of making ſail, leaving the Hannibal, which, of courſe, ſtruck her flag.

The Admiral, in his diſpatches, gave the beſt account he could of this unfortunate buſineſs. The French and Spaniards exulted highly over our defeat: it was announced, by an official note, to all the theatres of Paris, that ſix Engliſh ſhips of the line had been either taken, or beaten back into the harbour of Gibraltar, by three French ſhips! The ſame news was circulated by the telegraphs throughout the whole of the French empire: not a word of the batteries on ſhore; and which, in fact, infinitely counterbalanced

the inferiority of the French fleet. The 5th July was called the Naval Marengo: the deſtruction of the modern Carthage was predicted in an epigram, greatly admired at Paris, becauſe it had loſt its Hannibal. From the reſult of the engagement at Algeſiras the French nation, at large, inferred, without the ſmalleſt doubt, that their navy would ſoon be enabled, with proper attention, to combat the empire of the ſeas: ſuch and ſo extenſive were the hopes and ambition excited by this victory in miniature!

Shortly after this, intelligence was received of a ſecond action fought by the ſquadron under the command of Sir James Saumarez, in which he obtained the victory. The three French line of battle ſhips, diſabled in the action of the 5th July, were, on the 8th, reinforced by a ſquadron of five Spaniſh line of battle ſhips, under the command of Don Juan de Moreno (the ſame Moreno who commanded the Spaniſh gunboats in 1782, in the attack on Gibraltar:) there was alſo a French 74, wearing a broad pendant, beſides three frigates, and an incredible number of gunboats, and other veſſels. They got under ſail on the morning of the 12th, together with the Engliſh ſhip the Hannibal, which they had ſucceeded in moving off the ſhoal on which ſhe had ſtruck. Sir James Saumarez almoſt deſpaired of getting a ſufficient force in readineſs to oppoſe ſuch numbers; but, through the greateſt exertions of the officers and men, the Cæſar, which was the Admiral's ſhip, was in readineſs to warp out of the mole of Gibraltar alſo on the morning of the 12th; and, immediately after, the whole ſquadron got under weigh, except the Pompey, which ſhip had not had time to get in her maſts. The Engliſh Admiral determined, if poſſible, to ob-

ſtruct the paſſage of ſo powerful a force, as that of the enemy, to Cadiz. Late in the evening he obſerved the Combined Squadron to have cleared Cabareta Point, and at eight he bore up to ſtand after them. His Majeſty's ſhip the Superb opened her fire cloſe to the enemy's ſhips; and, on the Cæſar's coming up, and preparing to engage a three-decker, that had hauled her wind, ſhe was perceived to have taken fire, and the flames having communicated to a ſhip to the leeward of her, both were ſoon in a blaze. As there was no poſſibility of offering the leaſt aſſiſtance to the enemy in ſo diſtreſſing a ſituation, the Cæſar paſſed on cloſe with the ſhip engaged by the Superb; but, before the Cæſar could come up, that ſhip, the St. Antonio, of 74 guns, and 730 men, was completely ſilenced, and hauled down her colours. The Venerable and Spencer having, at this inſtant, come up, the Engliſh Admiral bore after the enemy, who were carrying a preſs of ſail and ſtanding out of the Straits, but loſt ſight of them during the night. It blew exceſſively hard till daylight; and, in the morning, the only ſhips in company were the Venerable and Thames, ahead of the Cæſar, and one of the French ſhips, at ſome diſtance from them, ſtanding towards the ſhoals of Conil, beſides the Spencer, aſtern, coming up. All our ſhips immediately made ſail with a freſh breeze; but, as they approached, the wind ſuddenly failed, and the Venerable alone was able to bring the French ſhip to action, which Captain Hood did in the moſt gallant manner, and had nearly ſilenced her; when his mainmaſt, which had been before wounded, was, unfortunately, ſhot away; and thus the enemy's ſhip was enabled to get off, without any poſſibility of following her.

The following is the account given by Captain Keates, of the Superb, who, in consequence of the Admiral's directions to make sail up to and engage the sternmost of the enemy's ships, found himself abreast of a Spanish three decked ship, on which he opened his fire at not more than three cables length; which produced good effect, not only in that ship but in other two, which lay nearly in a line abreast of her; all which ships soon began firing on each other, and, at times, on the Superb: the three decker was the Royal Charles, carrying 112 guns. In about a quarter of an hour he perceived the ship he was engaging, and which had lost her foretopmast, to be on fire: on this, he instantly ceased to molest her, and proceeded on to the ship next at hand, the St. Antonio abovementioned, under French colours, and manned nearly in equal proportions with French and Spanish seamen, and which, after some action, the chief being wounded, struck her colours. From the very few survivors of the ships that caught fire and blew up, and who, in an open boat, reached the Superb at the time she was taking possession of the St. Antonio, Captain Keates learned, that, in the confusion of the action, the St. Hermenegildo, carrying also 112 guns, mistaking, in a dark night, the Royal Charles for an enemy, ran on board her, and shared her melancholy fate. The other Spanish ships were the St. Ferdinando, of 94 guns; the Argonaut, of 80; and the Wanton, a lugger, of 12 guns.

The escape of the French ship the Formidable from the Venerable, was, as usual, magnified by the French into a great and wonderful naval victory, and indicatory of the reviving glory of the French marine!

Sir Wm. Sidney Smith, K.t K.C.

Pub. by Jones & Rumsey 1815.

While theſe operations were carrying on by the hoſtile powers ſome changes were taking place in England. Mr. Pitt reſigned his place, and aſſigned as a reaſon, That his inability to propoſe his Catholic Regulations, as a *miniſter*, was the ſole cauſe of his reſignation. Mr. Addington was choſen chancellor of the exchequer; Sir John Mitford was choſen ſpeaker, in the place of Mr. Addington, on the 11th of February. Some intereſting and animated debates took place reſpecting this change, the probable reaſon of which will appear more clearly as we proceed in our narration.

In the courſe of this firſt ſeſſion of the Imperial Parliament the merits of a gallant officer, and a man of moſt nice honour, were recommended to the Houſe, by his Majeſty, in the following

MESSAGE:

"His Majeſty being deſirous of conferring ſome ſignal mark of his royal approbation upon Sir Sidney Smith, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices, and the valour and abilities he has diſplayed, in various important operations againſt the enemy on the coaſt of Egypt; and, particularly, for his gallant defence of Acre, recommends to the Houſe of Commons to make proviſion for ſecuring the ſum of one thouſand pounds *per annum*, for the term of his natural life."

This was ſome remuneration for arduous and important ſervices. But why, it may be aſked, does Sir Sidney Smith, even yet, remain undiſtinguiſhed by any honorary title, for his meritorious exertions in the defence of his country?

On the 2d of July the Parliament was prorogued by the following Speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor:

" *My Lords and Gentlemen*,

" We have it in command from his Majeſty, to acquaint you, That, on account of the advanced period of the ſeaſon, and the ſtate of public buſineſs, he is induced to relieve you from a longer attendance in Parliament.

" His Majeſty highly commends the wiſdom, temper, and diligence, which have marked all your proceedings; and, particularly, acknowledges the aſſiduity and zeal with which you have purſued the inveſtigation of the important ſubjects brought under your conſideration, in conſequence of the ſevere preſſure occaſioned by the high price of corn. The beneficial effects of the meaſures you have ſuggeſted for the alleviation of this calamity have afforded his Majeſty great conſolation; and he has the utmoſt ſatisfaction in indulging the hope, that, under the favour of Providence, the bleſſings of plenty will be reſtored by the produce of the enſuing harveſt.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*,

" His Majeſty has directed us to return you his particular thanks for the liberal proviſion which you have made for the various branches of the public ſervice. While he regrets the neceſſity of ſupplies ſo large, it is a relief to his Majeſty to obſerve, that the reſources and continued proſperity of the country have enabled you to diſtribute the public burdens in ſuch a manner as to preſs with as little ſeverity as poſſible on his faithful ſubjects.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen*,

" The brilliant and repeated ſucceſſes of his Majeſty's arms, by ſea and land, important as they are in their immediate conſequences, are not leſs ſatisfactory to his Majeſty's mind, as affording freſh and deciſive proofs of that vigorous exertion, undaunted valour, and ſteady perſeverance, which diſtinguiſh the national character; and on which the chief reliance muſt be placed, for reſpect abroad and for confidence and ſecurity at home. Events ſo honourable to the Britiſh name derive, at the preſent moment, peculiar value, in his Majeſty's eſtimation, from their tendency to facilitate the attainment of the great object of his

unceaſing ſolicitude, the reſtoration of peace, on fair and adequate terms. They furniſh, at the ſame time, an additional pledge, that, if the ſentiments of moderation and juſtice, which will ever govern his Majeſty's conduct, ſhould be rendered unavailing, in this inſtance, by unreaſonable pretenſions on the part of his enemies, the ſpirit and firmneſs of his people will continue to be manifeſted, by ſuch efforts and ſacrifices as may be neceſſary for aſſerting the honour of his Majeſty's crown, and for maintaining the permanent intereſts of the Empire."

Then a Commiſſion for proroguing the Parliament was read; after which the Lord Chancellor ſaid,

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"By virtue of his Majeſty's Commiſſion, under the Great Seal, to us and other lords directed, and now read, in obedience to his commands, we prorogue this Parliament to Thurſday, the 6th day of Auguſt next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is, accordingly, prorogued to Thurſday, the 6th of Auguſt next."

CHAPTER XXII.

Further Views of Buonaparté.—Reſolves to attack Portugal.—Conduct of England.—Spain propoſes to mediate.—England rejects it.—Spain drawn into the Conteſt, and declares War againſt Portugal.—Active Meaſures of the Portugueſe Government.—Hoſtilities commenced.—Rapid Progreſs of the Spaniſh Arms.—Peace between Spain and Portugal.—Buonaparté refuſes to accede to it.—Operations between the French and Portugueſe.—Peace concluded.—Invaſion of England, in flat-bottomed Boats.—Lord Nelſon's Attack on Boulogne.—Its partial Succeſs.—Returns to Margate Roads.—Sails again for Boulogne.

THUS baffled at all points; the Northern Negotiation broken, and the Combined Fleets defeated; Buonaparté now began to beſtir himſelf in a manner leſs likely to be fruitleſs: he reſolved to forſake, for awhile, the faithleſs element of the ſeas, on which he was forced to acknowledge we rode triumphant, and to attack us by a more circuitous route; a route alſo where he promiſed himſelf more ſucceſs. Portugal, our old and faithful Ally, now attracted the furor of his ambition; and, whether the advantages of ſubjugating that ſtate would be great or little, it would ſerve, at leaſt, as a rallying point, and a toſſin to ſound the alarm of war.

Portugal was conſidered and ſpoken of by the French as a mere colony in the hands of the Engliſh. The Portugueſe were diſpoſed to continue in habits of cloſe intercourſe and friendſhip with us, and they were proud of our protection: if the Engliſh

Government would have ſupplied them with an army as well as with a navy, the general voice of the court and nation would have cheerfully embarked the fortune and fate of Portugal with that of Britain. Our miniſters appeared for ſome time to have embraced the reſolution of defending Portugal; and, ſo late as October 1801, Spain offered itſelf as a mediator between France and Portugal: but to this the Britiſh cabinet would not conſent; they rather choſe to attempt to rouſe the Portugueſe to war, with the promiſe of military ſuccours, provided that a perſon recommended by Great Britain ſhould be employed to fill the office of commander in chief of the forces in Portugal, inſtead of the actual commander in chief, who, from age, was not capable of acting with a ſufficient degree of judgment for his country. The Court of Liſbon did not take this advice: they agreed, however, that, if this country would furniſh an army of 25,000 men, the Britiſh miniſtry might then appoint a commander: to this our miniſtry would not accede; and the force deſtined for Portugal was, therefore, carried to Egypt.

Spain was not allowed to remain neuter: it ſeemed to be then, as it is now, the policy of Buonaparte to ſuffer no neutral ſtates, but to embiaze the whole world in war. Spain declared war againſt Portugal on the 3d of March, 1801; it was not, however, till the 26th of April that a proclamation of war, or, rather, of defence, was iſſued by the Portugueſe Government. The Proclamation was ſpirited and manly. "The nation," ſaid they, "which could reſiſt the Romans, conquer Aſia, make great diſcoveries by ſea, ſhake off a foreign ſceptre, and recover and main-

tain her independence; ſhould not that nation, at preſent, recal to mind the honourable annals of her hiſtory? People of Portugal! we ſtill preſerve the courage and ſentiments tranſmitted by our anceſtors. Juſtice is on our ſide; and the true God, favourable to our cauſe, will puniſh, by our arms, the injuſtice of our adverſaries."

Vigorous meaſures were now adopted by the Portugueſe Government: yet it was eaſy to ſee, that neither ſhe nor Spain entered willingly into the war: it was neceſſary, however, to be prepared for the worſt, and, therefore, preparations were made for actual hoſtilities. New levies were made in all places, and among all ranks, the eccleſiaſtics and men above ſixty alone excepted: every other, "capable of ſhewing a beard," had arms put into their hands. A force of regulars and irregulars was raiſed and ſet in motion, but the numbers have not been able to be aſcertained with any exactneſs. The Prince of Brazil attended the army in perſon. To aſſiſt in carrying on the war government borrowed the plate of the churches, which was depoſited, as a pledge, in aid of the public faith for ſums advanced, in the hands of individuals; and an augmentation was made, of one third part, to the daily pay of the ſoldiers. Every thing, in ſhort, were the appearance of a neceſſary defence againſt a ſerious and alarming invaſion.

The attack on Portugal was to be made by the French and Spaniards in two different directions: the former were to march towards Oporto and Liſbon, while the latter were to penetrate into Alentejo, the largeſt, the moſt fertile, and the beſt cultivated province of Portugal, extending in breadth eighty miles and in length two hundred.

The Spaniſh army, from thirty to forty thouſand, under the command of the Prince of Peace, from different points, entered Alentejo on the 20th of May. All was rapid progreſs on one part and precipitate retreat on the other. By the 6th of June the Spaniards had reduced Elvas, Campo-maior, Arronches, Flor-de-Poſa, Eſtrencoz, and, in a word, all the ſtrong places and all the magazines of Alentejo. On this day preliminaries of peace were ſigned between Portugal and Spain, at Badajos; the principal conditions of which were, that the town, fortreſs, and province of Olivenza, were ceded to Spain, and the ports of Portugal ſhut againſt the Engliſh. This pacification was ratified on June 16th, but not proclaimed by Portugal till the 20th of July. It was deemed prudent not to publiſh the Treaty of Badajos till the Portugueſe poſſeſſions in South America ſhould be ſaved from invaſion, on the part of England, by a reinforcement of French troops. In the Portugueſe proclamation not a word of France was mentioned.

The ſituation of Portugal, ſhut up between the prevailing power and influence of the French by land, and that of the Engliſh by ſea, was extremely hard and perilous. Mr. Frere, the Engliſh envoy at Liſbon, ſent a ſtrong note to the Portugueſe miniſter, remonſtrating againſt the concluſion of peace till his court ſhould be conſulted.

At this haughty conduct the Portugueſe cabinet was greatly hurt; as Portugal had, in fact, to complain of the conduct of Great Britain. Immediately after Mr. Frere had preſented this note he wrote another, to Mr. Arbuthnot, the Engliſh conſul, deſiring him to intimate to the Britiſh merchants, to hold themſelves in readineſs to depart at a moment's no-

tice: but the Engliſh were invited to remain, with aſſurance of protection, by the Prince Regent of Portugal.

By a convention entered into between France and Spain, at Madrid, peace was not to be concluded between theſe parties on the one hand, and Portugal on the other, unleſs, among other conditions, certain places in Portugal ſhould be given up, to be occupied by French troops until the eſtabliſhment of a general peace in Europe. When, therefore, Buonaparte was invited to accede to the preliminaries of the peace of Badajos, he refuſed his concurrence. He repreſented that it was contrary to the convention of Madrid, and to the general policy and intereſt of the Allies; and that the immediate conſequence of this treaty to his Catholic Majeſty, if he ſhould ratify it ſeparately, would be the loſs of Trinidad; which muſt be ceded, as a condition of peace with the Britiſh nation, if the occupation, by French troops, of ſome quarter, or ſome poſts in Portugal, ſhould not enable the French Government to offer to the cabinet of London an option, which it might prefer even to the poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh iſland. But the Court of Liſbon having ratified the Treaty of Badajos ſeparately, the French Government proceeded in its determination of invading Portugal. A French army, thirty thouſand ſtrong, under General Junot, provided with a numerous train of artillery, having traverſed the Pyrennees, entered Portugal, from Salamanca, on the 28th of June, inveſted the town and fortreſs of Almeida, and from that poſition menaced both Oporto and Liſbon.

In order to counteract the conqueſts of France, a ſquadron, with troops, was ſent out by the Britiſh

Government, for taking into our protection and poſſeſſion the iſland of Madeira. It arrived on the 23d of July at the place of its deſtination: early on the 24th a negotiation was begun, and, before it was dark, half the force was landed and encamped: on the 25th the remainder was landed; and Colonel Clinton, who commanded the expedition, having made proper repreſentations, and ſatisfied the Governor of the friendly intentions of the Engliſh towards the Portugueſe, was put in poſſeſſion of the two forts which command the bay of Funchal, the capital of the iſland.

Edicts were again iſſued by the Portugueſe Government for military conſcriptions: large bounties were offered to ſeamen, for manning ſix ſhips of the line, to join the Engliſh fleet at Cadiz. The ſubſidy from England, of three hundred thouſand pounds, gave new vigor to the exertions of Portugal: ſuccours in men, likewiſe, were ſolicited from England, and fondly, though vainly, expected. The men were at work in the arſenals of Liſbon and Oporto day and night: the greateſt activity prevailed in every branch of the war department. Portugal was ſeriouſly prepared to defend herſelf.

The Portugueſe army, however, did not amount to more than 25,000 men, notwithſtanding all the requiſitions and bounties! among theſe were three regiments of loyal French Emigrants, and ſome corps of Engliſh cavalry: its head quarters were fixed in the ſtrong poſt of Abrantes, on the Tagus, in Eſtramadura. The commander in chief was the Duke of Alfoens.

The Duke, in the beginning of July, quitted Abrantes, and left a ſtrong corps there, under the

command of General Forbes: he proceeded, with the main army, to occupy ſuch poſitions as might enable him to check the farther irruptions of the French. But, in the meantime, while the weak, and but ill provided, Portugueſe army were thus employed, a negotiation was ſet on foot for peace, which was finally concluded at Madrid, on the 29th of September, by the following

TREATY

Of Peace between the FRENCH REPUBLIC *and the Kingdom of* PORTUGAL.

The Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, and his Royal Highneſs the Prince Regent of the Kingdom of Portugal and Algarva, equally animated with the deſire of eſtabliſhing thoſe relations of commerce and amity which ſubſiſted between both ſtates previous to the war, have determined to conclude a treaty of peace, through the mediation of his Catholic Majeſty, and have appointed for this purpoſe the following Plenipotentiaries; viz. The Firſt Conſul has nominated, in the name of the French People, Citizen Lucien Buonaparté: and his Royal Highneſs the Prince Regent of the Kingdom of Portugal and Algarva, his Excellency Cypriano Bibiero Freire, Commander of the Order of Chriſt, one of the Council of his Royal Highneſs, and his Miniſter Plenipotentiary to his Catholic Majeſty; which Plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their reſpective powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:

I. There ſhall be, from henceforth, peace, friendſhip, and good underſtanding, between the French Republic and the Kingdom of Portugal: all hoſtilities, both by land and ſea, ſhall ceaſe immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent Treaty; that is to ſay, within fifteen days in Europe, and the ſeas which bound it and the coaſt of Africa, on this ſide of the equator; within forty days

after the aforefaid ratifications in the territories and feas of America and Africa, on the other fide of the equator; and three months after, in all the territories and feas to the Weſtward of Cape Horn and to the Eaſt of the Cape of Good Hope. All the prizes made after theſe reſpective periods, in the latitudes mentioned, ſhall be reſpectively reſtored: the priſoners on each ſide ſhall be reſtored, and the ſame political relations re-eſtabliſhed between the two powers as exiſted before the war.

II. All the ports and roads of Portugal in Europe ſhall be immediately ſhut, and continue ſo until the concluſion of peace between France and England, againſt all Engliſh veſſels, both of war and trade; and the ſaid ports and roads ſhall be open to all the veſſels of war and trade belonging to the French Republic and her Allies. As to the ports and roads of Portugal in other parts of the world, the preſent Article ſhall be obligatory within the periods above fixed for the ceſſation of hoſtilities.

III. Portugal engages not to furniſh, during the courſe of the preſent war, to the enemies of the French Republic and her Allies, any ſuccours, in troops, veſſels, arms, ammunition, proviſion, or money of any kind, or in any manner whatever. All anterior acts, engagements, or conventions, contrary to the preſent Article ſhall be revoked, and regarded as null and void.

IV. The boundaries of French and Portugueſe Guyana, ſhall be determined, in future, by the river Carapanatuba, which flows into the river Amazon, about a third of a degree of North latitude above Fort Macaba. Theſe limits ſhall follow the courſe of the river to its ſource, whence they ſhall take a direction to the grand chain of mountains which divide the courſe of the river; they ſhall follow the windings of that chain to the point neareſt to Rio Branco, between the ſecond and third degree North of the equator.

The Indians of the two Guyanas, who, in the courſe of the war, may have been carried off from their habitations, ſhall be reſpectively reſtored.

The citizens or ſubjects of the two powers, who may be compriſed within the new determination of the limits,

may reciprocally retire to the poſſeſſion of their reſpective ſtates. They ſhall, likewiſe, have power to diſpoſe of their property, moveable and immoveable, for a period of two years, to be computed from the day of exchanging the ratifications of the preſent Treaty.

V. A treaty of commerce ſhall be negotiated between the two powers, to eſtabliſh, in a definitive manner, the commercial relations between France and Portugal: in the mean time it is agreed upon,

1. That the communications ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed immediately after the exchange of the ratification, and that the agents and factors of commerce ſhall, on each ſide, be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of the rights, immunities, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the war.

2. That the citizens and ſubjects of the two powers ſhall equally and reciprocally enjoy in the ſtates of both all the rights which thoſe of the moſt favoured nations enjoy.

3. That the commodities and merchandiſes produced from the ſoil or manufactures of each of the two powers, ſhall be admitted reciprocally, without reſtriction, and without being liable to any duty which would not equally affect the commodities and merchandiſe of a ſimilar nature imported by other nations.

4. That the French cloths may be immediately imported into Portugal, on the footing of the moſt favoured merchandiſe.

5 That in other points all the ſtipulations inſerted in the preceding Articles, and not contrary to the preſent Treaty, ſhall be proviſionally executed until the concluſion of a treaty of definitive commerce.

6. The ratifications of the preſent Treaty ſhall be exchanged at Madrid within the term of twenty days, at fartheſt.

Exchanged by *duplicata*, the 7th Vendemaire, in the 10th year of the French Republic (29th September, 1801.)

(Signed) LUCIEN BUONAPARTE.

CYPRIANO BIBIERO FREIRE.

By this Treaty neither Olivenza nor any other portion of the Portugueſe territory was given to Spain: but the intereſts of France were conſulted in commercial relations, and in the extenſion as well as compactneſs of French Guiana.

The active mind of Buonaparté, while carrying on this incidental war, was not neglectful of the grand focus of his operations. England continued to be the centre of his action, and the menaces of invaſion were continued under a new aſpect, that of flat-bottomed boats. This idea was firſt ſuggeſted in 1744, by the famous Lally; but it was quickly abandoned by the French miniſtry, as impracticable; and, if it was then deemed ſo, with much more reaſon ought it to be now.

It was reſolved, however, not to wait quietly an attack, but to ſhew our enemies that we were able not only to defend our own ſhores, but to carry war even to theirs. At the very moment, therefore, when the project of invading this country appeared to be ripe for execution, it was determined, that Lord Nelſon, with a flotilla of gun-boats, and other armed veſſels, backed by ſome ſhips of the line, ſhould carry the terrors of war home to the doors of France. The name of Nelſon was alone ſufficient; yet there were many who diſapproved of his appointment, under pretence, that we ought to have ſhewn the enemy that we had other commanders as able; but, probably, from the ſecret influence of envy, that pined to ſee the illuſtrious Conqueror of Aboukir and Copenhagen in the road to gather additional laurels. It may be true, and no doubt it is, that we have in the Britiſh navy many very brave and able com-

manders; but was there one who had ſignaliſed himſelf in a manner equal to Nelſon? and is it not true policy to entruſt a bold enterpriſe to one who has given proofs of his courage and ſkill, rather than to the problematical chance of equal ſervice being done by one who *may be* adequate to the taſk? Much invective indeed was thrown upon Lord Nelſon, at the time, for his raſh effuſion of blood; but it is now ſufficiently aſcertained, that none could have done better, and few ſo well.

While the armament under this gallant Hero was preparing, a ſtop was put to all intercourſe between England and the oppoſite coaſts. Orders were ſent by government, not to ſuffer any perſons whatever to land from France, Flanders, or Holland. The French, therefore, inſtead of making attacks on England, were wholly employed in preparations for defence againſt the dreaded attacks of the Engliſh armament. At Boulogne, Dunkirk, Dieppe, Havre, Cherbourg, and other places, where the Engliſh might direct their attacks, land forces were collected from the neighbouring quarters, batteries were conſtructed, and furnaces erected for heating red-hot ſhot; all which had fires in them, ready for ſervice.

On the 30th July, Lord Nelſon hoiſted his flag on board the Leyden of 68 guns, at Deal, and took the command of the armament, deſtined for an unknown expedition. The force under his command comprehended, beſides the Leyden, the De Ruyter, of 64 guns, the Iſis of 50 guns, the Hind and Brilliant frigates, together with a great number of bombs and gun-boats, revenue-cutters, and armed pinnaces, in all about 40 ſail. His Lordſhip, afterwards, ſhifted his flag to the Meduſa frigate.

On the 1ſt Auguſt the ſquadron ſtood over to the French coaſt. Boulogne-ſur-mer was the place on which it was reſolved to make the attack. This was the principal place of rendezvous on the oppoſite coaſt, where the enemy had been aſſembling their numerous ſmall craft, as was given out, for the invaſion of this country. In this harbour there were four ſchooners, ſix luggers, ſix gun-brigs, and ſixteen gun-boats. On either ſide of the town there was formed an extenſive encampment. Lord Nelſon having arrived off Boulogne, employed himſelf diligently in reconnoitring the fortifications of the place, and concerning the beſt plan for an attack. In the evening of Auguſt 3d he ſtood cloſe into Boulogne, with ſome of the bomb veſſels, and threw ſeveral bombs, to try how they would reach the enemy. Finding that they reached the ſhore, he made a ſignal of recal, and the whole armament anchored about four miles from the land. Orders were given to begin the attack at break of day next morning, 4th Auguſt. At 10 o'clock he himſelf ſtationed the bombs, five in number, in an oblique line, ſtretching from the Weſt end of the line of the enemy. They came to anchor, and began to throw bombs about five o'clock: the other ſhips of war were ſtationed, under weigh, in another line, behind the bombs, ready to render aſſiſtance. His Lordſhip's own flag was placed in front of the harbour, having our two lines, one of bombs, another of ſmall ſhips of war, ſtretching from his right; behind theſe was the Leyden man of war. Lord Nelſon's firſt intention was to attack the enemy's veſſels with bombs only, as theſe reach much farther than ſhot, and would prove effectual, while the enemy's ſhot could

not reach our veſſels. At ſix o'clock, however, it being then high water, Lord Nelſon, in order to induce them to diſcloſe their ſtrongeſt points, (for it was difficult to diſcover their batteries, the cliffs being of a brown clay) ſent his ſhips of war very cloſe to the ſhore, in face of the batteries, where they fired, firſt one broadſide, and, tacking round, fired the other; and then, ſailing away, they loaded again for another ſuch attack. This produced a heavy firing on both ſides; but, when the water fell, it was, of courſe, given over. The French batteries on each ſide of the harbour, could only fire ſtraight out, or nearly ſo, while our bomb-veſſels were ſtationed ſo much to their left that the batteries could not bear upon them. The French ſoon diſcovered the inutility of their batteries; and they, therefore, employed a number of men to throw up works and batteries on the hill, in the Eaſtern turn of the bay, which flanks the whole line of coaſt. But ſtill they could not reach our bomb-veſſels, which were at the extremity of the line of veſſels to the Weſtward: only a few ſhells, therefore, were thrown from them. The object which the Britiſh Admiral had in view in the diſpoſition of his veſſels, was, to have all the French ſhips to retreat towards the mouth of the harbour, that, being in a cluſter, their deſtruction might be effected at night.

The wind being favourable for the bomb-veſſels to act, he made the ſignal for them to weigh and to throw ſhells at the enemy's veſſels. Previous orders had been given to annoy as little as poſſible the town. Six of the French veſſels were ſo much damaged that they were towed from the ſcene of action; five of them were got into the mole; four

ſunk; and one bulged. It was Lord Nelſon's intention, in the dark, to have ſent three bombs cloſe upon the enemy, each bomb towed by ten boats, which were alſo to tow the boats away in caſe of accident: but the wind ſhifting, the attack became impracticable.

This partial attack being made, which, as Lord Nelſon expreſſed himſelf in his diſpatches, would, at leaſt, "ſerve to convince the enemy that they could not come out of their harbours with impunity;" he ſailed with part of his fleet, on the 6th of Auguſt, to Margate Roads. A number of his gun-boats returned to Deal, and a ſufficient force remained off Boulogne. On the 8th he again ſailed, directing his courſe to the Eaſtward, as if it were meant to attack Fluſhing, or ſome other port on the Dutch coaſt; but the real point was no other than Boulogne.

Stimulated by his recent ſucceſs, he was inflamed by an ardent wiſh of bringing off the enemy's flotilla, which was moored in the front of Boulogne, to the number of five-and-twenty armed veſſels.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Account of the ſecond Attack on Boulogne.—The Mode of Attack, and Diviſion of the Fleet.—The Manner in which the French were prepared for us, and the dreadful Havoc made in our Boats.—Loſs on both Sides.—Alledged ſincerity of the French Commodore.—Cauſes of Failure aſſigned by Lord Nelſon.—The real ones.—Preparations for Peace amidſt Hoſtilities.—Preliminaries ſigned.—Enthuſiaſtic Joy on the Occaſion.

THIS deſperate, and almoſt mad attempt, was made on the night between the 15th and 16th of Auguſt. The force collected at the Downs for this ſecond attack amounted to about 70 veſſels, of different deſcriptions, on board of which were ſome thouſands of marines. On the evening of the 15th, about duſk, our veſſels were ordered to form in four diviſions, to ſtorm the French line of boats, brigs, and luggers, defended by long poles, headed by ſpikes of iron projecting from their ſides, and with a very ſtrong netting braced up to their lower yards, moored head and ſtern acroſs the harbour with iron chains, in the ſtrongeſt manner, containing each about 200 ſoldiers, and under the protection of land batteries, as well as muſquetry from the ſhore! Since the firſt bombardment the enemy had erected batteries on every favourable point, and the army, collected on the heights, occupied a line of nearly three miles in length. But the circumſtance of the veſſels being made faſt to one another, and to the ground, by

means of ſtrong iron chains, was then unknown to the Engliſh. Such, however, was the caſe; and to that circumſtance alone the French owed the preſervation of their flotilla.

Our men were provided with boarding-pikes, tomahawks, and cutlaſſes only. Fire arms were forbidden, leſt they ſhould have been induced to fire, and thus alarm the enemy before they could be well up with their boats.

The plan of the attack was as follows:

The fleet was divided into four diviſions of boats for boarding, each under the command of a captain; and a fifth diviſion of howitzer-boats. The firſt four diviſions conſiſted of flat-bottomed boats, armed only with marines, and the boats belonging to the different ſhips and cutters in the ſquadron. Each of theſe diviſions conſiſted of three flat-bottomed boats, and about ten ſix-oared boats. The whole flotilla was formed into the different diviſions by the ſenior maſter and commander, Captain Somerville. Each diviſion had its appropriate number of enemy's veſſels to attack: the firſt beginning to the Eaſtward, and ſo on, in the order, Weſtward. The boats,, in their reſpective diviſions, put off from the Meduſa at half paſt eleven at night of the 15th. The ſecond diviſion, under Captain Parker, cloſed with the enemy firſt at half paſt twelve on Sunday morning. Captain Parker ordered Captain Williams, with the ſub-diviſion under his orders, to puſh on to attack the veſſels to the Northward of him, while he himſelf, with the others, ran alongſide a large brig, off the mole-head, wearing the Commodore's pendant. The boats were no ſooner alongſide this ſhip than they attempted to board: but the ſtrong netting, already

noticed, baffled all their endeavours, and an inſtantaneous diſcharge of guns, from about 200 ſoldiers on her gunwale, laid Captain Parker, with two-thirds of the crew, on their backs in the boat, all either killed or deſperately wounded. A part of the officers and crew of the Meduſa were in the boat with Captain Parker, and another part of them in the barge, under Lieutenant Longford, who nobly ſeconded the efforts of the Captain until all her crew were diſabled. The barge, being on the outſide, was enabled to get off with the tide, but the boat, in which Captain Parker was, hung alongſide: and, as there was not an officer or man left to govern her, ſhe muſt have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had ſhe not been taken in tow, and carried off by the honourable Mr. Cathcart, who commanded the Meduſa's cutter.

Mr. Williams led his ſub-diviſion to the enemy with great gallantry: he took one lugger, and had began to attack a brig; but the whole of his boat's crew were either killed or wounded.

The next diviſion that came up with the enemy was that under the command of Captain Colgrave. The captain wiſhing to reduce the largeſt veſſel firſt, loſt no time in making the attack, but he received ſo many ſhots through the boat's bottom that he ſoon found her in a ſinking ſtate; and, as it was not poſſible to ſtop ſo many ſhot-holes, he was obliged, with the men, to take to one of the boats of the ſhip, (York) which ſoon came up with the reſt of his diviſion. Finding, from the number of men killed and wounded in the different boats, and the conſtant fire of grape and ſmall arms from the ſhore, that there was not any proſpect of ſucceſs, he thought

it for the good of his Majeſty's ſervice to withdraw the boats between two and three in the morning.

Captain Coun, with the howitzers, in ſupport of Captain Parker's diviſion, advanced towards the pier until he was aground in the headmoſt boat. He then opened his fire, and threw about eight ſhells into the harbour. From the ſtrength of the ebb he was not able to keep his ſtation off the pier-head. He continued, however, his fire on the French camp till the enemy's fire had ſlackened, and almoſt totally failed, and Captain Parker's diviſion had paſſed without him.

Only one French lugger was brought off, with a lieutenant, eight ſeamen, and eight ſoldiers, being all that remained out of about double that number, with which ſhe had been manned.

The loſs of the Engliſh in this ſecond attack on Boulogne, in officers, ſeamen, and marines, amounted to about 200 in killed and wounded. Among the wounded was Captain Parker, who loſt a leg and thigh. The loſs of the French is not known, but it muſt have been conſiderable. The French admiral, indeed, Latouche Treville, in his diſpatches, ſtated the loſs at no more than 10 men killed and 30 wounded. But this was a violent diminution, for, beſide the havoc made by our ſeamen and marines, the French themſelves poured vollies of muſquetry, regardleſs of their own men, into their own brigs and boats, after they were boarded, and had fallen, or were likely to fall, into the hands of the Engliſh.

This was a deſperate and mad attempt, and a moſt prodigal expoſure of human life. Even the French admiral does juſtice to the daring intrepidity of our

men, and acknowledges that they were compelled to retire merely in consequence of the impracticability of getting the ships off, on account of their being chained. He describes, too, the shocking spectacle that was presented on board their vessels after the action. The decks strewed with dead and dying; and fingers, hands, and arms, everywhere discovered, after the dead bodies were thrown into the sea!

The gallant Nelson ascribed the failure of success "to the darkness of the night; the rapidity of the tide and half tide; the separation of the divisions; and the circumstance of their not arriving all at the same happy moment with Captain Parker." But it is sufficiently accounted for by forests of cutlasses and bayonets; vollies of musquetry and grape shot, poured on our men, both from gunboats, and from the shore, while they were employed in clearing away the strong boarding netting, the projecting spikes, and the chains, which remained after our brave seamen had cut the cables of the enemy's vessels; and the barricades, covering numerous troops abaft the mainmast.

It has been asserted, on the most indisputable authority, that the French Commodore addressed the first boat's crew that approached his ship, and in which was Captain Parker, in the following words, which were spoken in pretty good English: "Let me advise you, my brave Englishmen! to keep your distance: you can do nothing here; and it is only uselessly shedding the blood of brave men to make the attempt."

On Sunday afternoon Lord Nelson, with part of his fleet, returned to the Downs: the remainder continued for some time to cruise off the French coast.

It is remarkable, that the French, on this occaſion, forewent their uſual mode of exaggeration: we have ſeen, that the capture of a ſingle Engliſh frigate; nay, that the mere eſcape of a French one, was hailed by the country with enthuſiaſtic raptures, and blazoned forth with all the pomp of extravagant hyperbole. In their account of our unſucceſsful buſineſs at Boulogne they confined themſelves not only to modeſt truth, but told that truth in a modeſt way! Metaphyſicians ſay, there can be no effect without a cauſe; and we ſhall, ſhortly, find the cauſe of this effect: it was intended to ſmooth the way to a general peace.

Buonaparté was, by this time, convinced, if he ever had a doubt about it, that an invaſion of England was impracticable, in his preſent circumſtances: France, too, was convinced, by our daring bravery off Boulogne, that, ſo far from hoping to invade our ſhores, it would need all their vigilance to preſerve their own from inſult, and to protect the ſcanty ſhipping they had got.

Every thing concurred to render a peace acceptable. A long ſeries of years ſpent in the moſt deſolating warfare that hiſtory records; the continent metamorphoſed; almoſt all its different ſtates under the power of Buonaparté, and England and France, ſingly, carrying on their hoſtile preparations, without any definite object in view, all ſeemed to cry aloud for peace. Yet this deſirable end was purſued under all the attributes of war: it ſhould ſeem as if miniſters were anxious to "ſurpriſe and aſtoniſh," and to carry the conſent of the nation by a *coup-de-main*. Every thing, to appearance, wore the aſpect of the moſt inveterate hoſtility: preparations continued to be made, on both ſides of the Channel, for making and repel-

ling invaſion; and Britiſh fleets hung threatening over the alarmed coaſts of France, Flanders, and Holland. M. Otto ſtill remained in London, and flags of truce were daily paſſing, amidſt veſſels of war, between Calais and Dover. The negotiation was carried on with admirable ſecrecy on both ſides; though there would, of courſe, be ſome general anticipation of ſuch an event being likely to happen. At length, on Saturday, the 2d of October, there was given, in a London Gazette extraordinary, the following intelligence: "Preliminaries of peace between his Majeſty and the French Republic were ſigned laſt night, at Lord Hawkeſbury's office in Downing Street, by the Right Honourable Lord Hawkeſbury, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, on the part of his Majeſty; and by M. Otto, on the part of the French Government." Theſe were as follow:

PRELIMINARY ARTICLES

Of Peace between his BRITANNIC MAJESTY *and the* FRENCH REPUBLIC, *ſigned at London (in Engliſh and French) the 1ſt October*, 1801, *9th Vendemaire*, 10*th Year of the* FRENCH REPUBLIC.

His Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, being animated with an equal deſire of putting an end to the calamities of a deſtructive war, and of re-eſtabliſhing union and good underſtanding between the two countries, have named for this purpoſe; namely: his Britannic Majeſty, the Right Honourable Robert Banks Jenkinſon, commonly called Lord Hawkeſbury, one of his Britannic Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, and his principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs: and the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, Ci-

tizen Louis William Otto, Commiſſary for the exchange of French priſoners in England; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in due form, have agreed on the following Preliminary Articles:

Art. I. As ſoon as the Preliminaries ſhall be ſigned and ratified, ſincere friendſhip ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed between his Britannic Majeſty and the French Republic, by ſea and by land, in all parts of the world; and, in order that all hoſtilities may ceaſe immediately between the two powers, and between them and their Allies reſpectively, the neceſſary inſtructions ſhall be ſent, with the utmoſt diſpatch, to the commanders of the ſea and land forces of the reſpective ſtates; and each of the Contracting Parties engages to grant paſſports, and every facility requiſite to accelerate the arrival and enſure the execution of theſe orders. It is farther agreed, that all conqueſts which may have been made by either of the Contracting Parties from the other, or from their reſpective Allies, ſubſequently to the ratification of the preſent Preliminaries, ſhall be conſidered as of no effect, and ſhall be faithfully comprehended in the reſtitutions to be made after the ratification of the Definitive Treaty.

II. His Britannic Majeſty ſhall reſtore to the French Republic and her Allies; namely, to his Catholic Majeſty and to the Batavian Republic, all the poſſeſſions and colonies occupied or conquered by the Engliſh forces in the courſe of the preſent war, with the exception of the iſland of Trinidad and the Dutch poſſeſſions in the iſland of Ceylon, of which iſland and poſſeſſions his Britannic Majeſty reſerves to himſelf the full and entire ſovereignty.

III. The port of the Cape of Good Hope ſhall be open to the commerce and navigation of the Two Contracting Parties, who ſhall enjoy therein the ſame advantages.

IV. The iſland of Malta, with its dependencies, ſhall be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic Majeſty and reſtored to the Order of St. John of Jeruſalem. For the purpoſe of rendering this iſland completely independent of

either of the two Contracting Parties, it shall be placed under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the Definitive Treaty.

V. Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions shall be preserved entire, such as they existed previously to the present war.

VI. The territories and possessions of her Most Faithful Majesty shall, likewise, be preserved entire.

VII. The French Forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory: the English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and, generally, all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean or in the Adriatic.

VIII. The republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged by the French Republic.

IX. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated for by the present Preliminary Articles, shall take place, in Europe, within one month; and the continent and seas of America and of Africa, within three months; and, on the continent and seas of Asia, within six months after the ratification of the Definitive Treaty.

X. The prisoners made respectively shall be, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the Definitive Treaty, restored, and without ransom, on paying reciprocally the debts which they may have individually contracted. Discussions having arisen respecting the payment for the maintenance of the prisoners of war, the Contracting Powers reserve this question to be settled by the Definitive Treaty, according to the law of nations, and in conformity to established usage.

XI. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute, which may arise on account of prizes which may be made at sea, after the signature of the Preliminary Articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects which may be taken in the British Channel and in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of the present Preliminary Articles, shall be restored on each side; that the term shall

be, one month from the British Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands, inclusively, whether in the ocean or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary Islands as far as the equator; and, lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

XII. All sequestrations imposed by either of the parties on the funded property, revenues, or debts, of any description, belonging to either of the Contracting Powers, or to their subjects or citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of the Definitive Treaty. The decision of all claims brought forward by individuals of the one country against individuals of the other, for private rights, debts, property, or effects whatsoever, which, according to received usages and the law of nations, ought to be received at the period of peace, shall be heard and decided before the competent tribunals, and, in all cases, prompt and ample justice shall be administered in the countries where the claims are made. It is agreed, moreover, that this Article, immediately after the ratification of the Definitive Treaty, shall apply to the Allies of the Contracting Parties, and to the individuals of the respective nations, upon the condition of a just reciprocity.

XIII. With respect to the fisheries on the coasts of the Island of Newfoundland, and of the islands adjacent, and in the Gulph of St. Lawrence; and the two parties have agreed to restore them to the same footing on which they were before the present war, reserving to themselves the power of making, in the definitive Treaty, such arrangements as shall appear just and reciprocally useful, in order to place the fishing of the two nations on the most proper footing for the maintenance of peace.

XIV. In all the cases of restitution agreed upon by the present Treaty, the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may be at the time of the signature of the present Treaty, and all the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation, shall remain untouched

It is farther agreed, that in all the cafes of ceffion ſtipulated in the preſent Treaty, there ſhall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever condition or nation they may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of the Definitive Treaty of peace, for the purpoſe of diſpoſing of their properties, acquired and poſſeſſed either before or during the preſent war; during which term of three years they may have the free exerciſe of their religion, and the enjoyment of their property.

The ſame privilege ſhall be granted in the countries reſtored, to all thoſe who ſhall have made therein any eſtabliſhments whatſoever, during the time when thoſe countries were in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain.

With reſpect to the other inhabitants of the countries reſtored or ceded, it is agreed, that none of them ſhall be proſecuted, diſturbed, or moleſted, in their perſons or properties under any pretext, on account of their conduct or political opinions, or of their attachment to either of the two powers, nor on any other account, except that of debts contracted to individuals, or on account of acts poſterior to the Definitive Treaty.

XV. The preſent Preliminary Articles ſhall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in London, in the ſpace of fifteen days for all delay; and, immediately after their ratifications, plenipotentiaries ſhall be named on each ſide, who ſhall repair to Amiens, for the purpoſe of concluding a Definitive Treaty of peace, in concert with the Allies of the Contracting Parties.

In witneſs whereof, we, the underſigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majeſty, and of the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, by virtue of our reſpective full powers, have ſigned the preſent Preliminary Articles, and have cauſed our ſeals to be put thereto.

Done at London, the 1st day of October, 1801, the 9th Vendemaire, year 10th of the French Republic.

(L. S.) HAWKESBURY.

(L. S.) OTTO.

Louis XVIII.

Theſe Preliminaries were ratified by the French government at Paris, on the 5th of October; and the ratification was exchanged between Lord Hawkeſbury, and M. Otto, on the afternoon of the 12th October: it had been brought to London, on the morning of that day, by M. Lauriſton, a colonel of artillery in the French army, an aide-du-camp, and a great favourite of Buonaparté's. There was a degree of accidental propriety in tranſmitting the ratification by the hands of Colonel Lauriſton; as his family, though now naturalized in France, was of Britiſh extraction, and the recollection of this was yet recent. He was a great grandſon of the famous Miſſiſſipi Law, a gentleman of an ancient family, namely, that of Lauriſton, in Scotland.

Never, ſurely, was there ſuch a general and enthuſiaſtic joy excited throughout a whole nation as was manifeſted in England on this occaſion. Illuminations, firing of cannon, feaſtings, dramatic entertainments, poetical effuſions, and other expreſſions of ſatisfaction and gladneſs, carried, in many inſtances, almoſt to the height of frenzy, expreſſed the joy of France. In this country it was the ſame. Immediately on the arrival of Colonel Lauriſton, he went to M. Otto's houſe in Hereford Street. His arrival having been hourly expected, the news of it ſoon ſpread through the town, and attracted an immenſe number of the populace. After a ſtay of about an hour, the Colonel, M. Otto, and two other French gentlemen, came out and entered their carriage, for the purpoſe of going to exchange the ratifications with Lord Hawkeſbury in Downing Street. The populace, however, aware of their intention, immedi-

ately took the horſes from their coach and drew it along with loud acclamations. There the ratification was exchanged. On the return of the carriage, the populace, whoſe numbers were now conſiderably augmented, inſiſted on paying the ſame compliment to their French viſitors, by drawing them back as they had come, amidſt loud ſhouting and huzzaing. A party of the guards alſo attended in the eſcort, to prevent riot and diſorder, and in farther compliment to the welcome ſtrangers. Colonel Lauriſton gave the populace ten guineas to drink: he was a very handſome young man, of a genteel and pleaſing addreſs. During his ſtay in London, which was but a few days, he never appeared in the ſtreets without attracting a crowd, and he was always greeted with loud huzzas.

Such and ſo great were the rejoicings on this much wiſhed for event, that the joy occaſioned by its arrival ſeemed totally to eclipſe and blind every perception of its errors. There was not, perhaps, one reflecting mind in the nation that did not lament an iſſue to ſo arduous a conteſt, which produced ſo little honourable or advantageous to this country. The feelings of diſcontent were aggravated by the accounts, which daily arrived, of our ſucceſſes in the Eaſt, and of the final expulſion of the French from Egypt. At the moment when our brave countrymen were contending againſt the greateſt hardſhips; and when, by their blood, they had purchaſed the object of their conteſt, a diſhonourable peace was concluded in London; and their fellow citizens, the lazy mechanics and diſcontented tradeſmen of this overgrown metropolis, were filling the air with ſhouts, and dragging, like beaſts of burthen, through the ſtreets, two

or three Frenchmen! With what feelings muſt the Egyptian army have read of theſe proceedings!

Peace was proclaimed in every part of the world; an intercourſe was immediately opened between the ports of France and England, and packets regularly interchanged. The recruiting ſervice in both countries was diſcontinued and bodies of troops were diſbanded. Addreſſes on the peace to our Sovereign, in this country, and to the Chief Conſul, in France, poured in from all quarters. The work of pacification was juſtly aſcribed to Buonaparté, who was called *The Hero Pacificator of Europe!* To the addreſs from the Legiſlative Body he replied, that "the peace was owing to the ſtability to be expected from the organization of ſocial order and government."

This was the year of treaties: the treaties between France and Auſtria, between Spain and Portugal, and between France and Portugal, have been already noticed. The moment that intelligence was received at Paris that preliminaries of peace were ſigned by the Britiſh Government, Buonaparté patched up a peace with the Ottoman Porte: by this treaty France was admitted to all the privileges of the moſt favoured nations.

Peace was alſo concluded between the French Republic and the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, in which that prince renounced, in favour of the French Republic, all claim to the countries and dominions he had heretofore poſſeſſed on the left bank of the Rhine; and whereby the French Republic, on the other hand, guaranteed to the Elector the integrity of all his poſſeſſions on the right bank of that river.

Though the Emperor Paul had become as zealous a friend to the French Republic as he was an infuriated enemy to Great Britain, his former engagements with the Britiſh Government had not been retracted by any formal pacification with France. It was not till the 17th of October that a treaty of peace was ſigned between France and Ruſſia: by this treaty the French nation acquired very conſiderable commercial advantages.

There was yet another treaty, more extraordinary, perhaps, than either of the former, and certainly not leſs important: we allude to the famous *Concordat*. The object of this convention was, to re-eſtabliſh in France the public worſhip of the Catholic religion. There was to be a general reſignation of the French biſhops, both thoſe who acknowledged the Revolution, and thoſe, who ſacrificing all worldly advantages to conſcience, had quitted their dioceſes and France, and voluntarily embraced the hard lot of the Emigrants. The epiſcopal ſees were to be filled up with perſons preſented to them by the Firſt Conſul, and confirmed by the Pope, as had been done before the Revolution. The curates, or pariſh miniſters, were to be appointed by the biſhops and prefects conjointly. The Catholic religion was to be recogniſed as that of the majority of the French; its miniſters were to have ſalaries, and a ſanction was to be given to the ſale of eccleſiaſtical property. The form of the engagement to be taken by the clergy was: "I promiſe fidelity to the Government of the French Republic as eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution."

When objections were made to the meaſure by ſome of the members of the Council of State, who conſidered it as too great a deviation from the ori-

ginal principles of the Revolution, and that it might be followed by conſequences dangerous to the preſent government; Buonaparté, with a mixture of ſerioufneſs and irony, replied: "Make you no account, then, of a clergy who will pray every day for the ſafety of the Republic; and of biſhops, who will be obliged, by their oath, to reveal all plots againſt it?"

A great number of ſquibs and epigrams were circulated in Paris upon this buſineſs of the *Concordat*; among which the following was much talked of:

"Politique plus fin que général habile;
Bien plus ambitieux que Louis, dit le Grand:
Pour être Roi d'Egypte, il croit a l'Alcoran;
Pour être Roi de France, it croit a l'Evangile!"

"Still better a politician than a general;
More ambitious than Louis, called the Great:
To be King of Egypt, he believed in the Koran;
To be King of France, he believed in the Goſpel!"

Happy Pariſians! who can diſſipate your cares by a ſong, and laugh away your evils by an epigram! Yours is the true philoſophy, for it is practically good: what others teach, you perform; and, ſurely, nothing is ſo much the part of wiſdom as to bear the miſeries of life without a murmur.

Though the convention between the Pope and Buonaparté, was ſigned ſo early as the 26th of July, and ratified on the 10th of September, it was not carried into effect until April 1802. It was deemed political wiſdom to defer ſo popular a meaſure, as the re-eſtabliſhment of the Roman Catholic religion, for ſome time. It would thus be looked to as an object

of hope, which is a much livelier emotion than gratitude.

The peace with England was regarded by the French Princes, and other Emigrants, as deſtructive of their final hope and ſtay. In the recognition of Buonaparté's power, they beheld, not only the ruin of the royal cauſe, but the ſubverſion of the balance of power, and even of all ſubordination, &c. Yet, utterly to extinguiſh hope is not poſſible.

> "Hope ſprings eternal in the human breaſt,
> Man never *is*, but always *to be* bleſt."

Among the loyaliſts, and theſe the moſt enlightened, there were not a few, who conſidered the concentration of power in France, in a ſingle and vigorous hand, as a preſage, auſpicious to the reſtoration of the monarchy. Some believed, that this had been, all along, the ultimate object of a plan, arranged between Buonaparté and the Abbé Sieyes: others, that, though this was not the deſign, it would follow, as a matter of courſe. The way to it was prepared by the eſtabliſhment of abſolute power. It was impoſſible that ideas of reſtoring Charles II. of Great Britain, could have prevailed during a commonwealth. The reſtoration of the King was, neceſſarily, preceded by the reign of a Lord Protector. What Cromwell was to England, Buonaparté would be to France.

Such were the fallacies of hope, than which more groſs ones never, ſurely, entered the human mind. Mere circumſtances had made Buonaparté a ſort of Cromwell; but then his death muſt follow before the parallel would hold. Cromwell, while living—

"Would as lieve th' eternal devil ſhould hold his ſtate in *Rome* as a king."

Subſequent events have developed Buonaparte's character upon this ſubject: beſides, ſuppoſing Buonaparté dead, who was to be the General Monk of France? Hope is ſanguine, and often foolifh: the expectation, nay, in many, the belief was, that Moreau would prove ſo:—"*Oh! mores hominum! Oh! quantum eſt in rebus inane!*

CHAPTER XXIV.

Evacuation of Hanover by the Pruſſians—Paſwan Oglou.—Buonaparté conſolidates his own Power.—His Character and Views.—View of France preſented to the Legiſlative Body by Buonaparté.—Some Anecdotes reſpecting him, and Traits of his private Character.

HAVING noticed the invaſion of Hanover by the Pruſſians, and their declaration, that it was not their intention to keep it any longer than the diſturbed and unſettled ſtate of Germany might render this neceſſary; we ſhall now juſt mention, that, having long reſiſted the ſolicitations of the Elector, the King of Great Britain, to evacuate that territory, they, at laſt, did ſo in November.

In Turkey in Europe, Paſwan Oglou not only ſtill held out, but gained ſeveral important advantages over the troops of the Grand Seignior. The janizaries of Belgrade revolted; confined, and, afterwards, murdered, the Baſhaw; and governed that important city, with its environs, by their own authority.

Buonaparté, as the pacificator of Europe, was enjoying the full height of his ſplendor, and quaffed the enthuſiaſtic admiration of his *ſubjects* with regal ſolemnity: he was, every day, inceſſantly employed in meaſures that might tend to conſolidate his own power. It was the general plan of his government to unite vigor with lenity; to raiſe one arm, bared for execution, and the other ready to diſpenſe favours. This was a principle againſt which no objection could be urged: a due and equitable mixture of theſe two

qualities forms, or ought to form, the conſtituent parts of every free and juſt government.

The power of Buonaparté was exerciſed neither with wanton caprice, nor unemployed for the public advantage. In his preferments to office he was, generally, guided by a regard to merit and the opinion of the nation. He reſtored the operation of laws, and, as much as he could, that of religion. He ſet very ſeriouſly about improving the civil law of France, founding it wholly on a moral baſis, on the principles of human nature, and extending its influence, for the comfort and well being of individuals, to many domeſtic ſituations and caſes, and other relations, of which the law had not, formerly, taken any cognizance. He formed a plan for the education of youth. He turned his attention to the re-eſtabliſhment of a regular ſyſtem of finance, of a navy, of commerce, of agriculture, and manufactures. He liberally patroniſed, and was aſſiduous in his attention to the arts, liberal and mechanical; to the formation and reſtoration of canals, bridges, and highways; and, in a word, to the general ſtrength, reſources, and proſperity of the Empire.

He laboured by all means, by his regulations, countenance, and example, to diſcourage and check whatever was looſe in morals, or frivolous, enervating, and unmanly, in matters of amuſement or taſte. He honoured marriage and a domeſtic life; conſtancy and ſincerity in attachments and friendſhips. In what concerns the theatre, (a very capital conſideration in France) he ſet his face ſeverely againſt all looſe and frivolous pieces, and encouraged, on the other hand, ſuch as were of a moral, grave, and dignified caſt:

he shewed more countenance to tragedies than to the greater part of comedies.

In his own private deportment he exhibited to the French an example of a simple and laborious life. He was not addicted to any pleasures that were not pure, noble, and sublime He lived comfortably in his own family; he loved his nearest relatives, and was beloved by them; he was neither forgetful nor inattentive to his friends. Nothing passed in the Council of State that did not undergo a nice examination by him. He heard the opinion of every one with patient attention; but he viewed every thing, at the same time, with his own eyes, and followed his own judgment.

The following View of the French Republic, signed by the Chief Consul, and counterSigned by the Secretary of State, was presented to the Legislative Body on the 23d of November, 1801. It presents a sufficiently faithful picture of the state of France and Europe at this period, and will, therefore, be read with interest.

VIEW OF THE REPUBLIC;

Presented to the LEGISLATIVE BODY *at Paris, on the 23d of November,* 1801, *by the Counsellor of State,* THIBAUDEAU.

"It is with a pleasing satisfaction that the government offers to the nation the picture of the state of France, during the year that has passed over. Every thing at home and abroad has assumed a new appearance, and whatever way we cast our eyes, a long perspective of hope and happiness opens upon us.

"In the West and in the South, remnants of banditti infested the roads and desolated the fields invisible to the armed force which pursued them, or protected against it by

the very terror with which they inſpired their victims. Even in the boſoms of the tribunals, if they happened to be brought before them, their audacity froze with fear the accuſers, the witneſſes, the juries, and the judges. Theſe monſters ruſhed unpuniſhed from the hands of juſtice to the commiſſion of new crimes.

"Againſt this peſt, ſo deſtructive of all ſociety, it was neceſſary to make uſe of other arms than the ſlow and gradual forms with which public juſtice purſues ſolitary criminals, who conceal themſelves in ſilence and in darkneſs.

"Special tribunals were created, whoſe powers, more rapid and more ſure, might overtake and ſtrike them. The great criminals have been ſeized. The witneſſes have ceaſed to be mute. The judges have obeyed their conſciences, and ſociety has been avenged. Thoſe who have eſcaped from juſtice, are ſince flying from one hiding place to another; and the republic every day vomits from its boſom this laſt ſcum of the waves with which it has been ſo long agitated.

"Still innocence has had nothing to fear. The ſecurity of the citizens has not been alarmed by the meaſures deſtined for the puniſhment of their oppreſſors; and the unfavourable preſages with which it was attempted to intimidate liberty, have been realized only againſt guilt.

"From the month of May in the 9th year, to the 23d September in the 10th year, ſeven hundred and twenty-four judgments have been pronounced by the ſpecial tribunals; nineteen only have been rejected by the tribunal of appeal, on the ground of incompetence. They cannot, therefore, be reproached with exceſs of power, nor with any violation of ordinary juſtice.

"The government, from the firſt day of its inſtitution proclaimed liberty of conſcience. This ſolemn act calmed minds which had been frightened by imprudent rigours. The ceſſation of religious diſſenſion has been ſince announced; and in fact, meaſures have been concerted with the Sovereign Pontiff of the Catholic church, to reunite in the ſame ſentiments thoſe who profeſs a common belief. At the ſame

time a magiſtrate, charged with every thing that concerns public worſhip, has attended to the rights of every ſect; he has collected, in conferences with the Lutheran and Calviniſtic miniſters, the information neceſſary to prepare regulations, which will ſecure to all the liberty which belongs to them, and the publicity which the intereſt of ſocial order gives authority to grant them.

"The ſupport of all modes of worſhip will be provided for by equal means; nothing will be left to the arbitrary diſpoſal of their miniſters, and the public treaſure will not feel any increaſe in the burden of the charge.

"If ſome citizens have been alarmed by empty rumours, let them quiet themſelves; the government has done every thing to reconcile the minds of the citizens: but it has done nothing that could wound their principles, or the independence of their opinions.

"The continental peace ſet at reſt whatever inquietude, whatever vain fears ſtill remained: already bleſſed with the happineſs of which they had ſo long been in expectation, the citizens repoſed on the boſom of the conſtitution, and attached their whole deſtiny to it.

"Enlightened and faithful miniſters have ſeconded well this diſpoſition of the public mind; every exertion of authority exerciſed by them has met nothing but zeal, love, and gratitude.

"Hence the government has acquired that ſecurity which makes it its ſtrength; it has no more doubt of the opinion of the public than its own intentions, and has dared to appeal to it without dreading its reply. A prince, iſſuing from the blood which reigned over France, has traverſed our departments, has ſojourned in the capital, has received from the government all the honours due to his crown, and from the citizens all the reſpect that one people owes to another in the perſon who is called to exerciſe its government, without a ſingle ſuſpicion to alter the calm of adminiſtration, or a ſingle rumour to diſturb the tranquillity of the public mind. The countenance of a free, and the affection of a hoſpitable people, have been

ſeen throughout: foreigners, and the enemies of the country, have perceived that the Republic was in the hearts of the French, and that it had already acquired there all the maturity of ages.

"The return of our warriors into the French territory has been a ſucceſſion of fêtes and of triumphs. Theſe conquerors, ſo terrible in battle, have been as friends and brothers among us; bleſſed in the public happineſs, enjoying, without haughtineſs, the gratitude that they deſerve; and, by the moſt ſevere diſcipline, proving themſelves worthy of the victories which they had obtained.

"In the war that remained yet to be carried on, events have been chequered with ſucceſs and reverſes. Reduced to the neceſſity of ſtruggling againſt the marine of England, with an inferior force, our navy has ſhown itſelf with courage in the Mediterranean, when that ſea was covered with the fleets of the enemy. On the ocean it has recalled ſome remembrance of its ancient ſplendour; by a glorious reſiſtance it has aſtoniſhed England, collected on her coaſt to be witneſs of her own defeat; and if peace had not been reſtored, there was no reaſon to hope that it would avenge its paſt misfortunes, as well as the faults that had produced them.

"In Egypt, the ſoldiers of the army of the Eaſt have yielded; but they have yielded rather to circumſtances, than to the force of Turkey and of England, and certainly they would have conquered, if they had fought united. At length they return to their country, and they return with the glory which is due to four years of courage and of labour. They leave in Egypt an immortal memory, which will, perhaps, one day revive there the arts and inſtitutions of ſociety. Hiſtory at leaſt will not paſs over in ſilence all that the French have done to introduce into that country the civilization and improvements of Europe. It will relate by what efforts they conquered it, with what wiſdom and what diſcipline they ſo long preſerved it, and, perhaps, it will deplore their loſs of it as a new calamity to mankind.

" Twenty-eight thouſand Frenchmen entered Egypt for the purpoſe of conquering it; more have been ſent there at different periods ſince, but others have returned to nearly the ſame number. Twenty-three thouſand re-enter France, after the evacuation, without including the foreigners who have followed their fortunes. So that four campaigns, a number of battles, and the effects of diſeaſes, have not altogether carried off one fifth of the army of the Eaſt.

" After the continental war, every reduction in the army that circumſtances would permit, has been carried into effect by the government.

" Unconditional diſcharges are granted; they are granted without preference, without favour, and according to an order irrevocably fixed. Thoſe who have firſt taken arms in obedience to the laws of the requiſition, obtained them firſt.

" In order to fill up the vacancy which thoſe diſcharges will leave in the army, it will be neceſſary to call upon the conſcripts of the ninth and tenth years; and, in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, a project of a law will be propoſed to the Legiſlative Body, to place them at the diſpoſal of the government: but the government will only call upon the number ſtrictly neceſſary for maintaining the complete peace eſtabliſhment of the army.

" We will enjoy the peace, but the war will leave us a burden, which will, for a long time, weigh heavy on our finances, to pay off expenſes, which could neither be foreſeen nor calculated, to recompenſe the ſervices of our defenders, and to reanimate the works of our arſenals and our ports, to reſtore the French marine, to create anew all that the war has deſtroyed, all that time has conſumed; in fine, to carry all our eſtabliſhments to the point which the greatneſs and the ſecurity of the Republic require; all this cannot be done without an increaſe of revenue. The revenues will increaſe of themſelves with the peace. The government will manage them with the moſt ſtrict economy; but, if the natural increaſe of the revenues; if the moſt ſtrict economy ſhould not be ſufficient, the nation

will judge the wants, and the government will propose the resources which circumstances shall render necessary.

"During the whole course of the ninth year, scarcely were a few imperfect communications maintained between the mother country and the colonies.

"Guadaloupe has preserved some remnant of culture and prosperity; but the sovereignty of the republic has received more than one outrage. In the eighth year, a single agent commanded there; he was banished by a faction. Three agents succeeded him, two of them banished the third, and replaced him with a man of their own choice; another dies, and the two that remain invest themselves solely with the power that should be exercised by three. Under this mutilated and illegal agency, anarchy, and despotism, reigned, by turns. The colonists and the allies, accuse and charge it with error and crimes. The government tried to organize a new administration. A captain-general, a prefect, a commissary of justice, subordinate among themselves, but succeeding each other as occasion may require, present a singular power, possessing a sort of check, but no rivalship that could impede its action or paralyse its strength. This administration exists, and it will soon be known if it justifies the hopes that have been conceived of it.

"From the moment of his arrival, the Captain-general had to combat the spirit of faction. He thought it his duty to send to France, thirteen individuals, contrivers of disturbance and promoters of banishments.

"The government conceived, that such men would be dangerous in France, and ordered that they should be sent to any of the colonies that they may choose, Guadaloupe excepted.

"At St. Domingo, some irregular acts have given alarm for its allegiance. The government has not chosen to see, under equivocal appearances, any thing but that ignorance which confounds names and things, and usurps, when it thinks it is only obeying; but an army and a fleet, which are preparing to set out from the ports of Europe, will soon

have diſſipated all theſe clouds, and St. Domingo will return entirely under the laws of the Republic.

"At St. Domingo and at Guadaloupe, there are no longer any ſlaves; all are free, and ſhall remain free. Prudence and time will reſtore order in them, and re-eſtabliſh cultivation and induſtry.

"At Martinique different principles will prevail: Martinique has kept up ſlavery, and ſlavery ſhall ſtill be kept up there. Humanity has, already, ſuffered too much to attempt a new revolution there.

"Guiane has proſpered under an active and vigorous governor; it will proſper ſtill more under the empire of peace, and by the addition of a new territory, which calls for cultivation, and promiſes wealth.

"The iſles of France and Reunion have remained faithful to the mother country, in the midſt of factions, and under an adminiſtration feeble and unſettled, ſuch as chance made it, and which has received from the government neither her impulſe nor her aſſiſtance. Theſe colonies, ſo important, are confirmed; they no longer fear that the mother country, by giving liberty to the blacks, will eſtabliſh the ſlavery of the whites.

"In our foreign relations, the government will not fear to develop their principles and their maxims. Fidelity to our Allies, reſpect for their independence, frankneſs and loyalty towards our enemies; ſuch has been the policy of Government.

"Batavia reproached her political organization with not having been conceived for her.

"But, for ſome years, that organization governed Batavia. The principle of the Government is, that nothing is more fatal to the happineſs of a people than the inſtability of their inſtitutions; and, when the Batavian Directory endeavoured to aſcertain their opinion reſpecting alterations, they conſtantly reminded them of this principle.

"But, at length, the Batavian People wiſhed to alter their organization, and they have adopted a new conſtitution.

Government have acknowledged that conſtitution; and it was their duty to acknowledge it, becauſe it was the will of an independent people.

"Twenty-five thouſand men were to remain in Batavia, according to the terms of the treaty of the Hague, until the general peace. The Batavians deſired this force to be reduced; and, in virtue of a recent convention, they have been reduced to 10,000 men.

"Helvetia has afforded, during the year 9, the ſpectacle of a people torn by parties, each of thoſe parties invoking the power, and, ſometimes, the arms of France.

"Our troops have received orders to return to our territories: 4,000 men alone ſtill remain in Helvetia, by the wiſh of all the local authorities, who have claimed their remaining among them.

"Often has Helvetia ſubmitted to the Firſt Conſul's plans for organization; often has ſhe aſked his advice; he has always recalled her to the recollection of her independence: "Remember only," he has ſometimes ſaid, "the courage and virtues of your fathers, have an organization ſimple as their manners. Think of thoſe different religions, and thoſe different languages, which have their limits marked out; think of thoſe vallies, of thoſe mountains, that ſeparate you, of ſo many recollections attached to their natural boundaries; and let there remain of all that an impreſſion in your organization.—Above all, as an example to the people of Europe, preſerve liberty and equality to that nation, which firſt taught them to be free and independent."

"Theſe were but counſels, and they were coolly heard. Helvetia remains without a pilot in the midſt of ſtorms. The Miniſter of the Republic has been nothing more than a conciliator amidſt the divided parties; and the general of our troops has refuſed to ſanction the ſupport of his force.

"The Ciſalpine and Liguria, have at length decreed their organization. Both fear, in the movements of the

firſt appointments, the revival of rivalſhip and hatred. They have appeared to deſire, that the Firſt Conſul ſhould take theſe appointments upon himſelf.

"He will endeavour to reconcile this wiſh of two Republics ſo dear to France, with the more ſacred functions which his office impoſes upon him.

"Lucca has expiated in the agonies of a proviſionary regime, the errors that deſerved the indignation of the French people. She is now employed in giving herſelf a definitive organization.

"The King of Tuſcany, tranquil upon his throne, has been acknowledged by great powers, and will ſoon be by all.

"Four thouſand French are guarding Leghorn for him, and will evacuate it when he ſhall have organized a national army.

"Piedmont forms our 27th military diviſion, and under a milder regime, forgets the miſeries of a long anarchy.

"The Holy Father, Sovereign of Rome, poſſeſſes his ſtates in their integrity. Peſaro, Fano, Caſtel St. Leone, which had been occupied by Ciſalpine troops, have been reſtored to him.

"Fifteen hundred French troops are ſtill in the citadel of Ancona, and in order to enſure the communication with the army of the South.

"After the peace of Luneville, France might have fallen with her whole weight upon the Kingdom of Naples; have puniſhed the Sovereign for having firſt broken the treaties, and have made him repent the affront the French had received in the very port of Naples; but the government thought themſelves revenged as ſoon as they had the power of being revenged; they felt nothing more than the deſire and the neceſſity of peace; to give it, they demanded only the Port of Otranto, neceſſary to their deſigns in the Eaſt, as Malta had been occupied by the Britiſh.

"Paul the Firſt loved France; he wiſhed for the peace

of Europe; he wiſhed, above all, for the freedom of the ſeas. His great ſoul was moved by the pacific ſentiments which the Firſt Conſul had manifeſted; it was afterwards moved by our ſucceſſes and our victories; and hence the firſt ties that attached him to the Republic.

"Eight thouſand Ruſſians had been made priſoners in fighting with the Allies; but the adminiſtration that then directed England, had refuſed to exchange them for French priſoners. The government was indignant at this refuſal; they reſolved to reſtore theſe brave warriors, abandoned by their Allies, to their country; they reſtored them in a manner worthy the Republic, of themſelves, and of their Sovereign. Hence cloſer ties, and more intimate approximation.

"On a ſudden, Ruſſia, Denmark, Sweden, and Pruſſia united; a coalition was formed to guarantee the freedom of the ſeas: Hanover was occupied by the Pruſſian troops; great and vaſt operations were preparing, but Paul died ſuddenly.

"Bavaria haſtened to revive the ties that united her to France. That Ally, ſo important to us, has ſuſtained great loſſes on the left bank of the Rhine; the intereſt and the deſire of France, are, that Bavaria ſhall obtain a juſt and full indemnity.

"Great diſcuſſions have taken place at Ratiſbon, upon the execution of the Treaty of Luneville; but thoſe diſcuſſions do not immediately concern France. The peace of Luneville, concluded with the Empire, and ratified by the Diet, has irrevocably fixed on that ſide all the intereſts of the Republic. If the Republic ſtill take part in the diſcuſſions of Ratiſbon, it is only as guarantee of the ſtipulations contained in the 7th Article of the Treaty of Luneville, and for the purpoſe of maintaining a juſt equilibrium in Germany.

"Peace has been ſigned with Ruſſia; and nothing will hereafter diſturb the relation of two great people, who, with ſo many reaſons for loving, have none for fearing

each other; and whom nature has placed at the two extremities of Europe, to be the counterpoise of the North and the South.

"The Porte, restored to her real interests, and her inclinations for France, has again found her most faithful and ancient Ally.

"With the United States of America, all difficulties have been removed.

"Finally, the Preliminaries of Peace with England have been ratified.

"Peace with England, must have been the produce of long negotiations, maintained by a system of war, which, though slow in its preparation, was infallible in its result.

"Already the greater part of her Allies had abandoned her. Hanover, the sole possession of her Sovereign, upon the continent, remained in the power of Prussia; the Porte, menaced by our important positions on the Adriatic, had entered upon a private negotiation.

"Portugal remained to her; having been so long under the influence of the exclusive commerce of the English; Portugal, was, in fact, no more than a province of Great Britain. It was there that Spain was to find a compensation for the cession of Trinidada. Her army advances; a division of the troops of the Republic encamp upon the frontier of Portugal, to support her operations; but, after the first hostilities, and some light skirmishes, the Spanish minister ratifies, separately, the Treaty of Badajoz. From that time, the loss of Trinidada to Spain was to be predicted; from that time, in fact, England considered it as a possession acquired to her, and removed out of the negotiation everything that could suppose the restitution of it possible.

"Before the ratification of the particular Treaty of France with Portugal, the government made known to the Cabinet of Madrid, that determination of England.

"England refused, with the same inflexibility, the restoration of Ceylon. But the Batavian Republic will find,

in the numerous poſſeſſions that are reſtored to her, the re-eſtabliſhment of her commerce and her power.

"France has ſupported the intereſts of her Allies with as much ſtrength as her own: ſhe has done it to the extent of ſacrificing greater advantages than ſhe could have obtained for herſelf; but ſhe was forced to ſtop at the point in which all negotiation became impoſſible. Her exhauſted Allies afforded her no more reſources for the continuance of war; and the objects, the reſtitution of which was refuſed them by England, did not balance to them the chances of a new campaign, and all the calamities with which it might overwhelm them.

"Thus, in all parts of the world, the Republic has only friends or Allies, and her commerce and her induſtry are returning to their accuſtomed channels.

"In the whole courſe of the negotiations the preſent adminiſtration of England have ſhown a frank deſire to put an end to the miſeries of war: the Engliſh people have embraced peace with enthuſiaſm; the hatred of rivalſhip is extinguiſhed; the emulation of great actions and uſeful enterprifes will only remain.

"The Government have made it their ambition to replace France in her natural relations with all nations; they will make it their glory to maintain their work, and to perpetuate a peace, which ſhall conſtitute their happineſs as the happineſs of humanity.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE, Firſt Conſul.
"H. B. MARET, Secretary of State."

From this view of the conduct of Buonaparté it might ſeem, that he was born not only for the good of France but of mankind. He was careful to encourage virtue, ſcience, and all good arts: in his own department he was exemplary; and for what concerned France in relation to foreign countries, he profeſſed an emulation of "great actions and uſeful

enterprises, and was determined to perpetuate a peace which should constitute the happiness of the French as well as that of humanity." This, indeed, would have been true glory: and there were not a few who entertained sanguine hopes that Buonaparté would have exhibited as illustrious an example of moderation and justice, as he had done of skill, valour, and success in war. How justly these expectations were formed will be seen in the sequel.

During the interval of peace, that now succeeded, let us attend our countrymen to Paris, and view, for a moment, Buonaparté, and his attentions to the city in which he presides. Anecdotes of a man, who has changed the destiny of the world, must be interesting; and it will form a contrast to the turbulent scenes of bloodshed and war, in which we have, hitherto, viewed him.

That the military government, as it is now established in France, was projected and intended by Buonaparté, in the earliest part of his career, may be presumed, from the following anecdote.

When Buonaparté had expelled the Directory, who resided in the palace of the Luxembourg, he was asked where he would take up his residence: after a moment's pause, he replied, "At the palace of the *Thuilleries;* it is a good *military post!*"

A parade was held * in each decade; and, as this was a shew of which he made a part, the people flocked to see it. In private his name is seldom mentioned; there seems little inclination to praise him or to blame: but that he has the suspicions of a man who

* We speak of the period 1801-2, during the time that our countrymen visited Paris. Many of the following anecdotes are derived from *Holcroft's Travels.*

was considered as a usurper, or who considers himself as such, is evident.

Fouché was the protector of the Republicans, and, while defending their cause, the Chief Consul, one day, answered him, with some asperity, "The Republicans do not love me!" "True!" replied Fouché: "they say you are the high-priest of superstition; however, they remain quiet. But how do the Emigrants, the Royalists, and the Priests, whom you protect, act?" Fouché then (taking various papers out of his pocket, which contained proofs of the evil intentions of the parties he had named) added: "Look here! and here! and here! These papers will afford you sufficient information."

Immediately, at least soon after this conversation, Fouché addressed a paper to the Prefect of Brussels, and, I believe, to other prefects; which appeared in the journals, and might be called, a philippic against the priests: it accused them of turbulence, intolerance, and practices unworthy of the morality of the gospel; and required, that such conduct should be reproved, and, in future, prevented. This paper was no less offensive to one party than flattering to the hopes of the other. The *Concordat* was then first in contemplation, and the Republicans would not suffer themselves to believe that the country was again to be taxed for the purposes of a state religion: Buonaparté was of a different opinion; and it is asserted, that Fouché was reprimanded with marks of considerable dissatisfaction, and silence was imposed upon him. The viceroy must not govern the king.

The Italians will never pardon France for having deprived their country of its noblest works of art: this is the only sacrilege of which, in general, they complain.

The great Canova, a man who, as a ſtatuary, is perhaps but little inferior to the ancients, was ſent for by Buonaparté, to take his buſt. The artiſt was of no party in politics; devoting his life to the ſtudies in which he delights, and on which his thoughts are intenſe, he paid little attention to the fate of empires: to rob Rome, however, of the ſtatues, which were ſo lately her boaſt, and afforded the models on which he formed his taſte, was a crime he could never forgive: he openly acknowledged his diſlike of the Chief Conſul, rejected all offers made him to reſide at Paris; and, while modelling Buonaparté, frankly told him he was ſurpriſed to find himſelf in that place, and ſo employed!

This is in favour of the Conſul; it appears that there are talents the dignity of which he reſpects.

Volney had believed in the virtue of Buonaparté, had been his friend, and admitted to his familiarity; and, being a ſincere lover of freedom himſelf, he continued its defender. Not ſufficiently aware of the effects that the exerciſe of power had produced, that remonſtrance was become offenſive, and difference of opinion an inſult; he was, one day, endeavouring to convince the Chief Conſul of the miſchief he would do to mankind by again conferring power on the prieſthood, admitting the ſmalleſt of its once uſurped claims, and burthening people, who were of a different creed, with a general and unjuſt tax.

Buonaparté replied, "Why do you mention the people? I do but act, in this buſineſs, according to their deſire: a large majority of the people wiſh for the re-eſtabliſhment of the church."

Forgetful of the poſſibility, or, perhaps, not ſuſpecting it, that the truth, which inſtantly occurred to his mind, ſhould ſo deeply wound the pride of a man

whoſe ſupremacy was ſo recent, Volney anſwered, "Were you to act according to the will of the majority you muſt immediately cede your power: the majority of the people would vote for the return of the Bourbons"

The rage of the Chief Conſul was ungovernable: the common report is, that he inſtantly ſtruck Volney and ordered him from his preſence; ſince which he has never again entered the palace of the Thuilleries.

Some one, in the true ſpirit of French declamation, affirmed, ſpeaking to Buonaparté, that England was far behind France in truly underſtanding the principles of liberty: to which he replied, "It would be well for the latter if it did but enjoy one tenth part of Engliſh freedom."

Buonaparté ſeldom condeſcends to argue; and, when he does, he conſiders it as inſolence in any one who dares to be of a different opinion.

Muſic being, one day, the ſubject of diſcuſſion, he affirmed, "It is ſo ſimple in its principles that no man can be ignorant of it who underſtands the mathematics: it was the moſt monotonous of ſtudies, for it had no greater variations than may be be found in different angles, obtuſe and acute."

Concerning the religious opinions of Buonaparté, no man, it is ſaid, can form any deciſive judgment: from his different diſcourſe, he might at one moment be imagined an infidel, at another a Deiſt, and the next, perhaps, a Chriſtian! To Mongé, an avowed infidel, who was expreſſing his diſbelief of eternal puniſhments, Buonaparté ſaid, (after reciting the names of various great men who had believed in the Chriſtian religion, and examples of others, who, in their laſt

moments, had changed their opinions from fear) that he, Monge, would certainly die a true believer.

He appears to be rather a Fataliſt than a Neceſſarian; for he believes, or affects to believe, in his favourable deſtiny.

His ſtature is diminutive, his complexion ſallow, and his phyſiognomy bears thoſe marks that denote the labours of his mind, it is care-worn; but it is alſo ſuſceptible of great variety. From his atrabilarious complexion, choler might certainly be predicted, but, from the ſedateneſs of his eye, not of that ſudden and impetuous kind to which he is ſo very ſubject. His voice in converſation is clear and pleaſant.

On Eaſter Sunday, 1802, the farce of the *Concordat* was performed. Buonaparté entered the church of *Nôtre Dame:* he deſcended the aiſle, ſurrounded by attendants, with his hat off: the ſallowneſs of his complexion was overpowered by the emotions of thought, there was colour in his face; a gentle inclination to ſmile rendered his mouth pleaſant; his aſpect was gracious; his forehead large and open.

After this pretended ſolemnization of the *Concordat*, he aſked one of the generals who attended him, what he thought of the ceremony: to which the general ſarcaſtically replied, *C'etoit une vraie capucinade*—"It was a true farce."

Buonaparté appeared not to notice this ſneer, and the ſame general was imprudent enough to venture another, a few days afterwards, on the ſame ſubject: Buonaparté regarded him with one of thoſe frowns of terror, which, it is ſaid, he can ſo effectually put on: and the general fell into diſgrace.

The military are the only men who can take the leaſt liberty with him. It is ſaid that Moreau was in-

vited to be preſent at *Notre Dame*, to aſſiſt at the conſecration of the colours and to dine with Buonaparté: to which he anſwered: "Of your three invitations, General! I ſhall only accept one; I will dine with you; but I will neither go to *Notre Dame*, nor conſecrate colours."

In the plot to aſſaſſinate Buonaparté, (of which we ſhall ſhortly have to make mention) there were perſons who inſinuated that Moreau had taken a part. It is ſaid that Buonaparté ſent for him, and told him, "I have heard you have joined aſſaſſins; I give no credit to any ſuch tale; I know you to be incapable of a baſe action: but, ſuch is the effervescence of mind among the military, that you will greatly oblige me if you will paſs two or three days at your country houſe."

With this requeſt Moreau willingly complied, but carefully returned on the third day, that no miſconſtruction, by any party, might be put on his conduct.

When General Richepanſe returned to Paris he went to the levee of Buonaparté and there preſented himſelf: he was taken no notice of, a ſide glance from the Chief Conſul excepted, who continued his converſation with another general: Richepanſe made a ſecond attempt, and met with the ſame reception. Highly offended, Richepanſe, then, in a louder tone, ſaid: "Citizen General! when you are at leiſure—" On which Buonaparté, turned round, as if in reply to a troubleſome perſon, and aſked. "What do you want, Sir? who are you? what is your name? Richepanſe as inſtantly put his hand to his ſword, and anſwered: "My name, Citizen Conſul! is Richepanſe; a name, which, if forgotten by you, has the honour of being known to all Europe." Buonaparté, on

this, recollected himself; and, with that affability he can so readily assume, made a gracious apology for absence of mind, treated Richepanse, afterwards, with distinction, and soon appointed him commander of Guadeloupe.

There appears to be a great antipathy in Buonaparté to whatever reminds him of the Bourbon Family. A man had been proposed to him to serve as his head huntsman, and was highly praised for the knowledge that fitted him for such an employment. When he came to be examined, Buonaparté demanded of him upon what grounds he formed his superior claims as a huntsman. The man, with a very imprudent pride, answered, he had many years served, in the same capacity, his royal master, Louis XVI! Buonaparté gave the man a look and turned his back.

These various anecdotes serve to depict the man more accurately; they unfold the minute doublings of his character, and shew, without disguise, what are his predominant qualities: in reading them, we are struck with that mixture of greatness, sublimity, weakness, and littleness, of which his mind seems to be composed. Buonaparté certainly is not so uniform a character as those great men of antiquity with whom he has been compared: in too many instances he has the spots of the sun without his brightness.

CHAPTER XXV.

Lord Cornwallis sets off for Paris.—The Danger he ran in crossing the Channel, and the Anxiety of the People of Calais.—He arrives.—Extraordinary Honors paid to him at Paris.—Leaves that City for Amiens.—The extreme Delay in the Negotiation.—Buonaparté goes to Lyons, to meet the Deputies of the Cisalpine Republic.—Gets himself appointed their PRESIDENT.*—Returns to Paris.—Secret Treaties disclosed.—Great Increase of Empire acquired by Buonaparté, between the Preliminaries and the Definitive Treaty.—Alarm of England.—Her vigorous Measures at last.—The Treaty signed.*

THE peace, that was so ardently desired by both nations, was looked upon as finally accomplished when the Preliminaries were signed: nothing, it was thought, could occur to prevent its completion, and the ratifications were expected to take place within a few weeks. This last, indeed, was regarded as a form, a necessary act of diplomacy, rather than essentially connected with what had been already transacted.

On the 1st of November the Marquis Cornwallis, who was appointed Ambassador to the French Republic upon this occasion, left London, attended by a train suitable to his own dignity, and that of the nation which he represented. The city of Amiens, being nearly equi-distant from Paris and London, was fixed upon as the place for holding the congress, which was finally to settle all matters in dispute between Great Britain on the one part, and France in conjunction with her Allies, on the other. Lord Cornwallis had previously sent over to Calais his

horſes and equipage, which were far ſuperior in ſplendor and appointments, to anything which had been ſeen in France ſince the Revolution. So anxious was his Lordſhip to execute this important miſſion, that, although the weather was extremely tempeſtuous, he reſolved to embark, on the morning of the 3d of November, for Calais. One of the veſſels, which carried the baggage, was ſtranded, and loſt near Boulogne; and the inhabitants of the town of Calais, watched, with the moſt anxious ſolicitude, the veſſel in which his Lordſhip was embarked. Much was apprehended for its ſafety; but, towards night the ſtorm was ſomewhat abated, and he landed, under a general ſalute of artillery from all the forts. The next morning he was viſited by all the conſtituted authorities of that Diſtrict, and, in the courſe of the day, ſet out for Paris, where he arrived on the evening of the 7th. On the 8th he was introduced to Talleyrand, and partook of a ſplendid dinner, at which were all the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages in Paris. The next morning he was privately introduced to Buonaparté, who converſed with him for a conſiderable time. This was the day fixed for the public rejoicings in Paris on account of the peace. The preſence of the Britiſh Miniſter added conſiderably to the general joy on the occaſion. By a private order of the police, his carriage was the only one that was permitted, on that day, to paſs through the crowded ſtreets, and this was moſt cheerfully acquieſced in by the Pariſian mob. In the evening Lord Cornwallis was invited to the palace of the Thuilleries, to ſee the illuminations and fireworks. After this day his Lordſhip gave, and received ſome grand dinners, at which Generals Moreau, Maſſena, Berthier, and ſeveral of the firſt characters in France

was present. He never dined with the First Conful; and it appeared, from this circumftance, that, although Buonaparté was in the habit of afking diftinguifhed characters of every country to his table, as a private individual, yet, to ambaffadors he ftood upon all the ftrictnefs of the etiquette of crowned heads, and preferved the great degree of ftate and ceremony.

His Lordfhip's reception, however, at the French Court, was marked with more diftinction than had ever before been paid in France to any ambaffador. Befides the guard of honour, which was appointed to wait at his hotel, orders were given to the foldiers at every *corps-de-garde*, that, when his carriage paffed, the guard fhould turn out and carry arms. This, as a mark of diftinction, was one of the higheft compliments that could be fhewn him, and fuch as never before was paid to any foreign miniftcr in France. Notwithftanding all this compliment and ceremony, however, his Lordfhip was foon tired of Paris, and, at the latter end of November, fet out for Amiens, where he arrived on the 1ft of December. Neither Spanifh nor Danifh miniftcrs were then arrived, and Joleph Buonaparte, the Conful's brother who was the French minifter, came down folely in perfonal compliment to Lord Cornwallis. Almoft as foon as his Lordfhip had arrived, the adminiftrators of the theatre of Amiens waited on him, to know at what hour he would wifh the play to begin. His Lordfhip replied, that he very feldom went to plays, and requefted they would fix it at whatever hour was moft agreeable to the inhabitants of Amiens: they, however, obferved his dinner hour, and, during his ftay in that city, the play be-

gan at seven o'clock, instead of six, which was, before his Lordship's arrival, the time it had always commenced. The negotiation, however, was for a considerable time suspended. The Dutch minister, Schimmelpinnick, did not arrive until the 7th, and the Court of Spain seemed very slow in appointing their minister; at length their choice fell upon the Chevalier D'Azarra, but he remained a considerable time at Genoa, assigning illness as the cause. As nothing could be done at Amiens till the arrival of the Spanish minister, Lord Cornwallis had, for a considerable time, no other employment than receiving and exchanging complimentary visits. Spain, in fact, who was the only loser in point of territory, by the required cession of Trinidada by this Treaty, was not very anxious to send her minister to Amiens.

The French Government, and the First Consul were not inactive in the meantime. Two grand projects then occupied the mind of Buonaparté. The first was, the recovery of the colonies of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe, which had formerly been of the first importance to France, but which the revolutionary army of negroes, who had defended them throughout the war, now threatened to wrest from the parent state. The second project was still bolder: it was to place the Cisalpine Republic, which the treaty of Luneville had declared independent, absolutely in the power and at the discretion of the First Consul. In pursuance of the first project, a considerable army and fleet had been for a long time collecting at Brest, L'Orient, and Rochfort, which consisted of 23 ships of the line, five of which were Spanish, and 25,000 land troops, and which sailed on the 14th of December.

The British Government was not, without reason, jealous of such a force, and somewhat anxious about its final destination; but, having received express assurances from France, that its only object was to take possession of the colonies, and restore them to regular governments, they at length consented to their sailing, without waiting for the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty. They, however, collected a fleet at Bantry Bay, under the command of Admiral Mitchell, which was destined as a fleet of observation, to watch their motions in the West Indies. When the crews of these vessels understood that they were about to be sent thither, notwithstanding the war appeared at an end, a spirit of mutiny spread partially and fatally through the fleet, but particularly on board the ships Temeraire, and Formidable. It was, however, from subdued by the decided spirit of some of the officers; and fourteen of the ringleaders, who had in most of them borne an excellent character before the mutiny, were tried by a court martial, condemned, and executed. After this, a squadron of seven sail of the line sailed.

The year 1802, was, considered, by many as commencing in a most auspicious manner. The termination of our struggle with France; the increased glory of our army and navy; our maritime regulations and laws gloriously established, though contended for by the Northern Confederacy; the quiet state of Ireland, according to the minister; and last, not least, the intended repeal of the Income Tax, a hateful impost, which was, and still is, borne with indignant feelings by the people. These were flattering circumstances, and as such, hailed with joy by the

Britiſh nation. Yet, towards the middle of January, ſurpriſe and impatience began to be expreſſed, at the delay of the ſignature of the Definitive Treaty.

The ſituation of Lord Cornwallis, at Amiens, was áukward in the extreme; and ſuſpicions began to be entertained, that he was, as well as the country he repreſented, egregiouſly trifled with. In the meantime, Buonaparté, who appeared to conſider the Congreſs at Amiens, or the Definitive Treaty, as objects merely of ſecondary importance, prepared to ſet out for Lyons, for the oſtenſible purpoſe of conferring with a conſiderable number of the Ciſalpine Deputies; but, rather, as it appeared in the event, for an object of infinitely more importance to him, that of being inveſted with the ſovereignty of that country, under the title of Preſident. Talleyrand preceded him, and arrived at Lyons on the 4th of January. He employed the time, in the interval, between his arrival and that of the Firſt Conſul, in conciliating, and giving ſeveral magnificent entertainments to the Ciſalpine Deputies.

Buonaparté left Paris on the 9th, at one o'clock in the morning, and reached Lyons in the night of the 11th. As he approached the town, he was met, and eſcorted, by a brilliant troop of 150 volunteers, all natives of that town, young men of fortune and fine appearance. Thus accompanied, he entered the city about ten o'clock in the evening, amidſt the loudeſt acclamations, and the moſt rapturous expreſſions of univerſal joy.

On the grand ſtaircaſe of the palace, appointed for his reſidence, the following inſcription met his eyes; and if Buonaparté really poſſeſs that grand

mind, which we believe him to do, he muſt have read ſuch fulſome adulation with contempt.

11th January, An. 10.
BUONAPARTE!
Vanquiſher and Pacificator!
arrived in this City, and lodged in
this Palace:
Five hundred Ciſalpine Deputies attended
Him,
to fix, under his auſpices,
the Laws and Deſtinies of their Country.
At his view
the Arts awoke in this City,
Commerce reſumes its ancient
ſplendour;
and the grateful Lyoneſe, forming
for Him
the ſame wiſh that their Anceſtors
did for *Antonine*,
have ſaid,
"May his happineſs be equal to his glory!"

Could a Hero, like Buonaparté; could a man, poſſeſſing his energy of character; poſſeſſing his quick inſight into human nature, read the above without feeling intently that it ſprung either from debaſed or hypocritical beings? debaſed, and, therefore, contemptible; or hypocritical, and, therefore, ſuſpicious. We will do that gratuitous honour to the heart of Buonaparté, to believe, that he deſpiſed alike, the givers and the gift.

During the firſt part of his reſidence at Lyons, Buonaparté employed his time in viſiting the different manufactories and eſtabliſhments, and in privately conferring with the principal Ciſalpine Deputies. At the hall where the *Conſulta* met, a ſplendid chair

was prepared for him, adorned with military trophies; the room was decorated with various ornaments, emblematical of his victories, and inscribed with mottos, applicable to him and his fortunes.

The meetings of the *Consulta* were private, and they, at length, appointed a committee of thirty, to prepare a Report of the actual state of the Cisalpine nation, and the means necessary for its future prosperity and happiness. This committee, accordingly, presented a report, such as might have been expected, declaring it absolutely necessary that Buonaparté himself should undertake the sole and exclusive management of their affairs! The Report was long, and it concluded with pressing arguments, for the First Consul to take upon himself the *unwilling* charge of *governing* the Cisalpine nation, which, by the Treaty of Luneville, was declared independent! The Report was entered into the *procès verbal* of the *Consulta*, and unanimously agreed to by the Cisalpine Deputies. A special committee was appointed to wait on Buonaparté with the Report, which invited him, not in his capacity of First Consul of France, but personally, as General Buonaparte, to accept the government of a country as populous, fertile, and rich in resources, as any of the states of the second rank in Europe. The Cisalpine Deputies, it may be presumed, found no difficulty in persuading Buonaparté to accept that which was the undisguised object of his ambition, and the now avowed motive of his journey to Lyons.

On the 26th of January the First Consul, accompanied by Talleyrand, and Chaptal, the minister of the interior, four counsellors of state, seventy prefects of departments, and a vast train of general

officers, took his ſeat at the Ciſalpine *Conſulta*, and pronounced, in his native language, Italian, a ſpeech, to the following effect:

"That the Ciſalpine Republic, acknowledged ſince the Treaty of Campo Formio, has already experienced many viciſſitudes.

"The firſt efforts made to conſtitute it have ſucceeded badly.

"Invaded ſince by hoſtile armies, its exiſtence ſeemed no longer probable, when the French people, a ſecond time, drove, by force of arms, your enemies from your territories. Since that time, every means has been tried to divide you: the protection of France has prevailed, you have been recogniſed at Luneville.

"Increaſed one fifth, you exiſt more powerful, more conſolidated, and with better hopes.

"Compoſed of ſix different nations, you are now going to be united under a conſtitution more adapted to your manners and your circumſtances.

"I have aſſembled you around me at Lyons, as being the principal inhabitants of the Ciſalpine. You have given me the neceſſary information for fulfilling the auguſt taſk which my duty impoſed upon me, as the firſt Magiſtrate of the French People, and as the man who has moſt contributed to your creation.

"The choices which I have made to fill the firſt magiſterial offices in your country, are completely independent of all idea of party, of all ſpirit of locality.

"As to that of Preſident, *I have not found anybody among you* who would have ſufficient claim to the public opinion; who would be ſufficiently independent of the ſpirit of locality, and who, in fine, had rendered great ſervices enough to his country, to entruſt it to him.

"The *proces verbal* which you have cauſed to be tranſmitted to me, by your Committee of Thirty, in which are analyſed, with equal preciſion and truth, the internal and

external circumſtances of your country, have made a lively impreſſion on me. I adhere to your wiſh.—I ſhall ſtil preſerve, as long as circumſtances may require it, the great care of your affairs.

"Amid the continual cares which the poſt I occupy requires, every thing which may relate to you, and conſolidate your exiſtence and your proſperity, ſhall not be foreign from the deareſt affections of my heart.

"You have had, as yet, only particular laws, in future you muſt have general laws.

"Your people have only local habits; they muſt aſſume national habits:

"Finally, you have no army; the powers who might become your enemies have ſtrong armies; but you have that which can produce them; a numerous population, fertile countries, and the examples which have been given in all the eſſential circumſtances by the firſt nation in Europe."

This mandatory oration of the Firſt Conſul, interrupted at the end of each ſentence by loud applauſe, was followed by the reading of the Conſtitution. At the moment it was about to be read, the general inclination of the Aſſembly expreſſed a wiſh to change the name of the *Ciſalpine*, for that of the *Italian* Republic. The Firſt Conſul appeared to yield to the general deſire.

We preſent the following abſtract of the Conſtitution of the *Italian* Republic. It conſiſted of 128 Articles, and was reduced under fifteen titles.

By the firſt, the Roman Catholic religion is declared to be the religion of the ſtate.

The government of the country is veſted in a Preſident, appointed for ten years; or, in his abſence, the Vice-preſident, the *Conſulta* of State, and a Legiſlative Council. A Legiſlative Body, of 75 mem-

bers are to diſcuſs and decide reſpecting thoſe laws which the Legiſlative Council ſhall propoſe.

The members of the Legiſlative Body, as well as of the *Conſulta* of State, and of the Tribunals of Reviſion and Caſſation, are to be choſen by three electoral colleges, conſtituted for that purpoſe.

The firſt college is of POSSIDENTI, or landed proprietors. This college is to conſiſt of 300 members, having a qualification of 6,000 livres a year.

The ſecond college is of DOTTI, or of the learned. It conſiſts of 200 individuals, ſelected from thoſe who are moſt diſtinguiſhed in ſcience, or in the liberal and mechanical arts.

The third college is of DI COMMERCANTI, or the tradeſmen; it is to conſiſt of 200, ſelected from the moſt ſkilful merchants and manufacturers.

The ſeat of the legiſlation was permanently eſtabliſhed at Milan.

Theſe are the only diſtinguiſhing features of the Conſtitution of the Italian Republic worth recording.

After the reading of the Conſtitution, the names of the members of the colleges, and of the government, were read over.

The members of the government were as follows:

BUONAPARTE—Preſident.
MELZI—Vice-preſident.
GUICCIARDI—Secretary of State.
SPANOCCHI—Grand Judge.

The Firſt Conſul then invited the Vice-preſident to place himſelf by his ſide; he took him by the hand and embraced him: the aſſembly appeared grateful for this ſpontaneous mark of affection. Cf-

tizen Prina, then ſaid, "If the hand that has created and defended us will guide us, no obſtacle can ſtop us, and our confidence will be equal to that admiration with which the Hero, to whom we owe our happineſs, inſpires us."

The Firſt Conſul then broke up the ſitting, and retired to his palace, amidſt the loudeſt acclamations. The object of the viſit to Lyons being thus obtained, he returned to Paris on the 30th; Azarra, the Spaniſh miniſter, had arrived at Amiens on the 29th.

It was now to be hoped, that ſome attention would be paid by Buonaparté to the Congreſs at Amiens. But, while England was daily wondering and complaining at the delay which was taking place, a circumſtance tranſpired, in the courſe of the month of January, which developed moſt alarmingly the extent of Gallic ambition, and which altered moſt materially the baſis on which the Preliminary Articles of Peace was ſigned. A Treaty was officially publiſhed, which had been concluded in March 1801, at Madrid, by which Spain ceded Louſiana to France; and by the arrangement of which Treaty, the Duchy of Parma, and the Iſland of Elba were alſo to belong to that nation at the deceaſe of the reigning Duke of Parma; an event confidently expected in a very ſhort time.

Theſe enormous acceſſions of power, which France had made in the very commencement of peace, together with the unexpected delays which took place at the Congreſs of Amiens, cauſed the greateſt uneaſineſs throughout the Britiſh empire, and excited the moſt univerſal indignation. The month of January had ſeen added to the French Empire, either immediately or in reverſion, the countries

of Lombardy, Louſiana, Parma, and the Iſland of Elba!

The courſe which the affairs of the Ciſalpine had taken, and the great increaſe which the empire of Buonaparté had received by the acceſſion of ſuch a territory, operated directly upon one of the moſt important articles of the Preliminary Articles of peace.

The poſſeſſion of the Iſland of Malta had appeared to both the Contracting Parties as an object of the firſt rate importance. The agreement between England and France was, that it ſhould be neutral, and its neutrality was to be ſecured by every precaution that it was poſſible to take. All the great powers of Europe were invited to the guarantee of this neutrality; and it was, alſo, ſtated, that the internal organization of the iſland, for its own defence, ſhould be ſuch, as to ſecure it, as much as poſſible, from falling into the hands of either of the rival powers. It was upon this principle, that, although the iſland was to be reſtored to the Order of St. John of Jeruſalem, yet it was ſtipulated that there ſhould be neither an Engliſh nor a French *langue* ſubſiſting at Malta: the *langues* of thoſe nations were to be ſuppreſſed, and in their place, a Malteſe *langue* was to be created, whoſe knights were to be choſen from the principal inhabitants and merchants of the iſland. Neither French troops nor Britiſh were to be admitted in the garriſons of the different forts; but, as the period fixed for its evacuation was ſhort, and it was not likely that a Malteſe army could be ſo ſpeedily formed, as ſhould be powerful enough to ſecure, in every event, the neutrality of the iſland, it was agreed, that it ſhould be garriſoned by Neapo-

litan troops, until, in the judgment of the guaranteeing powers, it ſhould have a force of its own adequate to its defence.

At the time of the Preliminary Articles this ſeemed as good an arrangement as could be made for preſerving the neutrality of the iſland: but the ſubſequent events, which occurred between the Preliminary Articles and the Definitive Treaty, rendered this arrangement totally inſecure: Buonaparté as *Preſident*, that is, *Maſter* of the *Italian Republic*, might extend his empire on the other ſide of the Alps, even as far as the Mediterranean itſelf; at leaſt there was nothing in Italy that ſeemed to oppoſe ſuch a plan. But this was not the only circumſtance which occurred, between the ſigning of the Preliminaries and the Definitive Treaty, which deeply affected the minds and the opinions of the people of Great Britain.

No ſooner had the Preliminary Articles been received at Paris than ſome more treaties of peace were announced, with equal ſolemnity, by a grand diſcharge of artillery and an illumination. Among thoſe treaties, were one with the Ottoman Porte, and another with Portugal. In our treaty, as an equivalent for the vaſt colonial reſtitutions which we made to France and her Allies, we have expreſsly ſtipulated for the integrity of the territory of thoſe powers, and the evacuation of the Kingdom of Naples; but, although the negotiation at London laſted a conſiderable time, and France expreſsly ſtated thoſe ceſſions to our Allies as equivalents for the ceſſions we had agreed to make to her and to her Allies; yet, when the Preliminaries were ſigned, and ſhe had calculated that the Engliſh miniſtry would

rather ſubmit to be ſo impoſed upon than recede from them, ſhe produced the clandeſtine treaties that ſhe had been making, at the ſame time, ſeparately with our Allies.

By thoſe treaties the Porte had engaged that the French ſhould be on an equality with the moſt favored nation throughout the whole extent of the Turkiſh empire, and, conſequently, that the beſt of her Allies ſhould not, even in a commercial view, be more favored than thoſe who, without provocation, invaded and plundered its dominions.

In the ſeparate Treaty with Portugal, that power was to cede to France all Portugueſe Guiana, as far as the mouth of the river Amazons. This ceſſion would have opened for the French a way into the heart of South America. France, alſo, before this occaſion, announced, as before mentioned, a ſecret Treaty ſhe had concluded, a year before, with Spain, by which ſhe was to add to her own territories, Louiſiana, Parma, and the Iſland of Elba.

The ambition of Buonaparté was by no means ſatisfied with his Italian honours; he now openly aſſumed the moſt arbitrary and abſolute power in France; which country, as well as Italy, he henceforward ſeemed to conſider as his patrimonial property. His return from Lyons was announced at Paris by repeated diſcharges of artillery; (a compliment which none of the ancient monarchs of France ever required) and, from the moment of his return, he affected a greater degree of ſtate and ceremony, and kept his generals, who were formerly his intimate companions, at a moſt reſpectful diſtance.

On the 6th of February letters, of a moſt menacing nature were ſent, by orders of the Firſt Conſul,

to the Canton of Berne, in which the immediate interference of France was threatened, under the pretence of the diſſenſions prevailing among the Swiſs themſelves; but, in the Valais, more immediate and unequivocal proceedings on the part of France tranſpired.

In February, General Thureau, celebrated for his atrocities in La Vendée, arrived, early in that month, in the Valais; ſet aſide all the Conſtituted Authorities throughout that little ſtate and its dependencies, poſſeſſed himſelf of the public treaſury, the archives of the government, and the poſt-office, and publicly announced it as the intention of France to incorporate that Republic with her dominions. Nor were the efforts of Buonaparté leſs active with regard to internal arrangements: chambers of Commerce and Agriculture were eſtabliſhed throughout his empire; ſocieties for the Encouragement of the Arts and Manufactures univerſally eſtabliſhed; rewards for eminence in every branch of the fine arts laviſhly promiſed; whilſt the arranging the plunder of Italy in the utmoſt ſplendor at Paris, promiſed to ſecure to that capital the reſort and influx of ſtrangers, which once crowded to Rome, and the other ravaged cities of Italy.

There are ſome, who, with the inveterate blindneſs of hatred and rage, ſee nothing good in Buonaparté; there are others, who with the wild enthuſiaſm of admiration, behold in him nothing but what is excellent. We profeſs to be neither, for impartiality forbids us: yet, even his enemies muſt allow, that he has done more for France than half her monarchs did. His regulations at home have often been guided by the ſoundeſt policy; and he has diffuſed through-

out France an emulation and a ſpirit of enterpriſe, which will, probably, produce laſting benefits to her. He has even claims upon her gratitude; and, in this point of view, merits to reign more than an hereditary monarch, who happens to be born to a throne, the ſame as a man is born to an eſtate. If we refer back to the original compact between ſovereign and people, we ſhall find that a Buonaparté would keep his ſeat when many an entailed crown would be hurled from the heads they now cover.

On the 12th of March, news arrived at Breſt from St. Domingo: (a ſquadron had been ſent thither, under Admiral Gantheaume, to reinforce Admiral Villaret Joyeuſe and General Le Clerc) it was conſidered, upon the whole, as highly favourable to the parent country. We ſhall turn our attention to the affairs of this colony ſhortly.

Hitherto the ſituation of Lord Cornwallis at Amiens had been extremely irkſome and diſagreeable; the Definitive Treaty had been lingering now more than three months, during which time Buonaparté had realiſed every project he had wiſhed. At length ſome faint remains of Britiſh ſpirit appeared: the diſarming ſyſtem, which had proceeded to a conſiderable extent, was ſuſpended; we had already ſent out a ſtrong fleet to the Weſt Indies, to watch the motions of the Breſt fleet; a ſquadron had alſo ſailed from the Mediterranean, in conſequence of the ſailing of Gantheaume with a reinforcement for St. Domingo: other meaſures were alſo adopted, indicative of warlike reſolution.

Whether this manifeſtation of diſpleaſure on the part of Great Britain, and the conſequences it threat-

ened; or whether the oppoſition experienced at St. Domingo; or whether, in fact, Buonaparté had completed all he wiſhed; he now, without further ſubterfuge, ſeemed to wiſh to expedite the negotiation at Amiens, and to bring it to a concluſion.

There remained now, apparently, but two points to occupy the attention of the French Government; the Definitive Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, and the German Indemnities. The latter arrangement was permitted to ſlumber, and the preſſure, now cauſed by the angry meaſures of Great Britain, diſpoſed meaſures of an active nature to ſuperſede the ſupineneſs that had hitherto prevailed at Amiens.

At length, nothing more being to be gained from procraſtination, the long expected Treaty was ſigned on the 27th of March.

The inhabitants of Amiens were appriſed of the moment of the ſignature's taking place, and were invited to witneſs the ſolemnity. The welcome event was announced the next day at Paris, by Talleyrand, and proclaimed with the firing of cannon, and every demonſtration of joy uſual on the receipt of the moſt flattering and welcome intelligence.

On the 29th of March, Mr. Moore, aſſiſtant ſecretary to the miſſion, arrived in London, at nine o'clock in the morning, with the news of the Definitive Treaty of Peace having been ſigned at Amiens at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th inſt. by the plenipotentiaries of the different powers parties thereto. Thus, after a feveriſh interval of five months, during which period the moſt important revolutions had taken place in the ſtates of Europe, while the ſcale of French power was daily prepon-

derating, the great object of the British ministers, and the general wish of the people of England, was accomplished.

Having laid before our readers the Preliminary Articles, we shall now present them with the Definitive Treaty, and the separate Articles thereto.

DEFINITIVE TREATY

Of Peace, between the FRENCH REPUBLIC; *his Majesty the* KING OF SPAIN, *and the* INDIES; *and the* BATAVIAN REPUBLIC, *on the one Part, and his Majesty the* KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM *of* GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, *on the other Part.*

The First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being equally animated with a desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have laid the foundation of peace by the Preliminary Articles, which were signed in London the 9th Vendemaire, (or the 1st of October, 1801.)

And as, by the 15th Article of the Preliminaries, it has been agreed on, that plenipotentiaries should be named on the part of each government, who should repair to Amiens, and there proceed to arrange a Definitive Treaty, in concert with the Allies of the Contracting Powers,

The First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, has named as plenipotentiary, the Citizen Joseph Buonaparté, Counsellor of State:

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, has named the Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, one of his Majesty's Privy Council, General in his Majesty's army, &c. &c.:

His Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the Government of the Batavian Republic, have appointed the following plenipotentiaries; to wit: his Catholic Majesty has named Don Joseph Nicolas d'Azara, his Coun-

fellor of State, Grand Croſs of the Order of Charles III. Ambaſſador Extraordinary of his Majeſty, to the French Republic, &c. &c.:

And the Government of the Batavian Republic, has named Roger Jean Schimmelpenninck, its Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the French Republic, &c:

Which ſaid Plenipotentiaries having duly communicated to each other their reſpective powers, which are tranſcribed at the concluſion of the preſent Treaty, have agreed upon the following Articles:

ART. I. There ſhall be peace, friendſhip, and good underſtanding, between the French Republic, his Majeſty the King of Spain, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and the Batavian Republic, on the one part; and his Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and ſucceſſors, on the other part.

The Contracting Parties ſhall uſe their utmoſt efforts to preſerve a perfect harmony between their reſpective countries, without permitting any act of hoſtility whatever, by ſea or by land, for any cauſe, or under any pretext.

They ſhall carefully avoid every thing which might, for the future, diſturb the happy union now re-eſtabliſhed between them, and ſhall not give any ſuccour or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe who would wiſh to injure any of them.

II. All the priſoners made on one ſide and the other, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried off, or delivered up during the war, and up to the preſent day, ſhall be reſtored without ranſom in ſix weeks, at the lateſt, to be reckoned from the day when the Ratification, of the preſent Treaty, are exchanged, and on paying the debts which they ſhall have contracted during their captivity. Each of the Contracting Parties ſhall, reſpectively, diſcharge the advances which ſhall have been made by any of the Contracting Parties, for the ſupport and maintenance of priſoners in the countries where they have been detained.

There shall be appointed, by mutual consent, for this purpose, a Commission, especially empowered to ascertain and determine the compensation which may be due to any one of the Contracting Parties. The time and the place shall, likewise, be fixed by mutual consent, for the meeting of the Commissioners, who shall be entrusted with the execution of this Article, and who shall take into account, not only the expenses incurred on account of the prisoners of the respective nations, but, likewise, an account of the foreign troops, who, before being taken, were in the pay, and at the disposal of one of the Contracting Parties.

III. His Britannic Majesty, restores to the French Republic, and its Allies, viz. his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic, all the possessions and colonies which respectively belonged to them, and which have been either occupied or conquered by the British forces during the course of the present war, with the exception of the Island of Trinidad, and of the Dutch possessions on the Island of Ceylon.

IV. His Catholic Majesty, cedes and guarantees, in full property and sovereignty, the Island of Trinidad to his Britannic Majesty.

V. The Batavian Republic, cedes and guarantees, in full property and sovereignty, to his Britannic Majesty, all the possessions and establishments in the Island of Ceylon, which, previous to the war, belonged to the Republic of the United Provinces, or to the Dutch East India Company.

VI. The port of the Cape of Good Hope, remains to the Batavian Republic in full sovereignty, in the same manner as it did previous to the war.

The ships of every kind belonging to the other Contracting Parties, shall be allowed to enter the said ports, and there to purchase what provisions they may stand in need of as heretofore, without being liable to pay any other imposts than such as the Batavian Republic compels the ships of its own nation to pay.

VII. The territories and poſſeſſions of her moſt Faithful Majeſty are maintained in their integrity, ſuch as they were antecedent to the war. However, the boundaries of French and Portugueſe Guiana are fixed by the river Arroway, which empties itſelf into the ocean above Cape North, near the islands Nuovo and Penetentria, about a degree and a third of North latitude. Theſe boundaries ſhall run along the river Arroway, from its mouth, the moſt diſtant from Cape North to its ſource, and, afterwards, on a right line from that ſource, to the Rio Branco, towards the Weſt.

In conſequence, the Northern bank of the river Arroway, from its ſaid mouth to its ſource, and the territories that lie to the North of the line of boundaries laid down as above, ſhall belong in full ſovereignty to the French Republic.

The Southern bank of the ſaid river, from the ſame mouth, and all the territories to the South of the ſaid line, ſhall belong to her moſt Faithful Majeſty.

The navigation of the river Arroway, along the whole of its courſe, ſhall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have been agreed upon between the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon, reſpecting the ſettlements of their boundaries in Europe, ſhall, nevertheleſs, be adhered to, conformably to the ſtipulations of the treaty of Badajos,

VIII. The territories, poſſeſſions, and rights of the Sublime Porte, are maintained in their integrity as they were before the war.

IX. The republic of the Seven Iſlands is recogniſed.

X. The Iſlands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, ſhall be reſtored to the Order of St. John of Jeruſalem, to be held on the ſame conditions on which it poſſeſſed them before the war, and under the following ſtipulations:

1. The knights of the order whoſe *langues* ſhall continue to ſubſiſt after the ſigning of the Ratification of the preſent Treaty, are invited to return to Malta as ſoon as the exchange ſhall have taken place: they ſhall there form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a

Grand Maſter, choſen from among the natives of thoſe nations which are to preſerve their *langues*, unleſs that election has been already made ſince the exchange of the Preliminaries.

It is underſtood that an election made ſubſequent to that epoch, ſhall alone be conſidered valid, to the excluſion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

2. The governments of the French Republic and of Great Britain, deſiring to place the Order and Iſland of Malta in a ſtate of entire independence, with reſpect to themſelves, agree, that there ſhall not be, in future, either a French or an Engliſh *langue*; and that no individual belonging to either the one or the other of theſe powers ſhall be admitted into the Order.

3. There ſhall be eſtabliſhed a Malteſe *langue*, which ſhall be ſupported by the territorial revenues and commercial duties of the iſland: this *langue* ſhall have its peculiar dignities and eſtabliſhment, and a manſion-houſe. Proofs of nobility ſhall not be neceſſary for the admiſſion of knights of this *langue*; and they ſhall be, moreover, admiſſible to all offices, and ſhall enjoy all priviliges in the ſame manner as the knights of the other *langues*. At leaſt half of the municipal, adminiſtrative, civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the government, ſhall be filled by inhabitants of the iſlands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

4. The forces of his Britannic Majeſty ſhall evacuate the iſland and its dependencies within three months from the exchange of the Ratifications, or ſooner, if poſſible. At that epoch it ſhall be given up to the Order, in its preſent ſtate; provided the Grand Maſter, or commiſſaries, fully authoriſed according to the ſtatutes of the Order, ſhall be in the iſland to take poſſeſſion, and that the force which is to be provided by his Sicilian Majeſty, as is hereafter ſtipulated, ſhall have arrived there.

5. One half of the garriſon, at leaſt, ſhall always be compoſed of native Malteſe; for the remainder, the Order may levy recruits in thoſe countries only which continue to

poſſeſs the *langues*. The Malteſe troops ſhall have Malteſe officers: the commanderſhip of the garriſon, as well as the nomination of the officers, ſhall pertain to the Grand Maſter; and this right he cannot reſign, even temporarily, except in favour of a knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the Council of the Order.

6. The independence of the iſles of Malta, of Gozo, and Comino, as well as the preſent arrangement, ſhall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Auſtria, Spain, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia.

7 The neutrality of the Order and of the iſland of Malta, with its dependencies, is hereby proclaimed.

8. The ports of Malta ſhall be opened to the commerce and the navigation of all nations, who ſhall there pay equal and moderate duties: theſe duties ſhall be applied to the maintenance of the Malteſe *langue*, (as ſpecified in paragraph 3.) to that of the civil and military eſtabliſhment of the iſland, as to that of a general lazaret, open to all colours.

9. The States of Barbary are excepted from the conditions of the preceding paragraph, until by means of an arrangement, to be procured by the Contracting Parties, the ſyſtem of hoſtilities which ſubſiſts between the States of Barbary and the Order of St. John, or the powers poſſeſſing the *langues*, or concurring in the compoſition of the Order, ſhall have ceaſed.

10. The Order ſhall be governed, both with reſpect to ſpirituals and temporals, by the ſame ſtatutes which were in force when the Knights left the iſles, as far as the preſent Treaty does not abrogate them.

11. The regulations contained in paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, ſhall be converted into laws and perpetual ſtatutes of the Order in the cuſtomary manner: and the Grand Maſter; or, if he ſhall not be in the iſland at the time of its reſtoration to the Order, his repreſentative, as well as his ſucceſſors, ſhall be bound to take an oath for their punctual obſervance.

12. His Sicilian Majeſty ſhall be invited to furniſh 2,000

men, natives of his States, to ſerve as a garriſon in the different fortreſſes of the ſaid iſlands: that force ſhall remain one year, to bear date from their reſtitution to the Knights; and if, at the expiration of this term, the Order ſhould not have raiſed a force ſufficient, in the judgment of the Guaranteying Powers, to garriſon the iſland and its dependencies, as is ſpecified in the 5th paragraph, the Neapolitan troops ſhall continue there until they ſhall be replaced by a force deemed ſufficient by the ſaid powers.

13. The different powers deſignated in the 6th paragraph: to wit; France, Great Britain, Auſtria, Spain, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia, ſhall be invited to accede to the preſent ſtipulations.

XI. The French troops ſhall evacuate the Kingdom of Naples and the Roman States; the Engliſh forces ſhall alſo evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and, generally, all the forts and iſlands that they occupy in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic.

XII. The evacuations, captures, and reſtitutions, ſtipulated by the preſent Treaty ſhall be executed, in Europe within two months, on the continent and ſeas of Aſia, in ſix months which ſhall follow the ratification of the preſent Definitive Treaty, except in caſe of a ſpecial reſervation.

XIII. In all caſes of reſtitution agreed upon by the preſent Treaty, the fortifications ſhall be reſtored in the condition they were in at the time of ſigning the Preliminaries; and all the works which ſhall have been conſtructed ſince their occupation ſhall remain untouched.

It is agreed, beſides, that, in all the ſtipulated caſes of ceſſions, there ſhall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever rank or nation they may be, a term of three years, reckoning from the ratification of the preſent Treaty, to diſpoſe of all their properties, whether acquired or poſſeſſed by them before or during the continuance of the preſent war; during which term of three years they ſhall have free and entire liberty to exerciſe their religion and to enjoy their fortunes: the ſame power is granted, in the countries that are hereby reſtored, to all perſons, whether inhabitants

or not, who ſhall have formed any eſtabliſhment there during the time thoſe countries were in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain.

As to the inhabitants of the countries reſtored or ceded; it is hereby agreeed, that no perſon ſhall, under any pretence, be proſecuted, diſturbed, or moleſted, either in perſon or property, on account of his political conduct or opinion, or for his attachment to any of the Contracting Parties, on any account whatever, except for debts contracted with individuals, or for acts ſubſequent to the preſent Treaty.

XIV. All the ſequeſtrations laid, on either ſide, on funds, revenues, and credits, of what nature ſoever they may be, belonging to any of the Contracting Powers, or to their citizens or ſubjects, ſhall be taken off immediately after the ſignature of the Definitive Treaty.

The deciſion of all claims among the individuals of the reſpective nations, for debts, property, effects, or rights, of any nature whatſoever, which ſhould, according to received uſages and the law of nations, be preferred at the epoch of the peace, ſhall be referred to the competent tribunals: in all thoſe caſes ſpeedy and complete juſtice ſhall be done in the countries wherein thoſe claims ſhall be reſpectively preferred.

XV. The fiſheries on the coaſts of Newfoundland, and the adjacent iſlands, and in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, are placed on the ſame footing as they were before the war.

The French fiſheries of Newfoundland, and the inhabitants of the Iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, ſhall have liberty to cut ſuch wood as may be neceſſary for them in the Bays of Fortune and Deſpair, during the firſt year, reckoning from the ratification of the preſent Treaty.

XVI. To prevent all grounds of complaint and diſputes which might ariſe on account of captures, which may have been made at ſea, ſubſequent to the ſigning of the Preliminaries, it is reciprocally agreed, that the ſhips and property which may have been taken in the Channel, and in

the North ſeas, after a ſpace of twelve days, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the Preliminary Articles, ſhall be reſtored on the one ſide and the other; and the term ſhall be one month for the ſpace, from the Channel and the North ſeas, as far as the Canary Iſlands incluſively, as well in the ocean as in the Mediterranean; two months from the Canary Iſlands to the equator; and, finally, five months in all the other parts of the world, without any further exception or diſtinction of time or place.

XVII. The ambaſſadors, miniſters, and other agents of the Contracting Powers, ſhall enjoy reſpectively, in the ſtates of the ſaid Powers, the ſame rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities, which were enjoyed before the war, by agents of the ſame claſs.

XVIII. The branch of the Houſe of Naſſau, which was eſtabliſhed in the Ci-devant Republic of the United Provinces, now the Batavian Republic, having experienced ſome loſſes, as well with reſpect to private property, as by the change of conſtitution adopted in thoſe countries, an equivalent compenſation ſhall be procured, for the loſſes which it ſhall be proved to have ſuſtained.

XIX. The preſent Definitive Treaty of Peace, is declared common to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the Ally of his Britannic Majeſty; and the Sublime Porte ſhall be invited to tranſmit its act of acceſſion as ſoon as poſſible.

XX. It is agreed, that the Contracting Parties, upon requiſitions made by them reſpectively, or by their miniſters or officers duly authorized for that purpoſe, ſhall be bound to deliver up to juſtice perſons accuſed of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the juriſdiction of the requring party; provides, that this ſhall only be done in caſes in which the evidence of the crime ſhall be ſuch, that the laws of the place in which the accuſed perſons ſhall be diſcovered, would have authoriſed the detaining and bringing him to trial, had the offence

been committed there. The expenſes of the arreſt and the proſecution, ſhall be defrayed by the party making the requiſition; but this Article has no ſort of reference to crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed before the concluſion of this Definitive Treaty.

XXI. The Contracting Parties promiſe to obſerve ſincerely and faithfully, all the Articles contained in the preſent Treaty, and will not ſuffer any ſort of counteraction, direct or indirect, to be made to it by their citizens, or reſpective ſubjects; and the Contracting Parties guarantee, generally and reciprocally, all the ſtipulations of the preſent Treaty.

XXII. The preſent Treaty ſhall be ratified by the Contracting Parties, as ſoon as poſſible, and the ratifications ſhall be exchanged in due form at Paris.

In teſtimony whereof, we, the underſigned Plenipotentiaries, have ſigned with our hands, and in virtue of our reſpective full powers, the preſent Definitive Treaty, cauſing it to be ſealed with our reſpective ſeals.

Done at Amiens, the 4th Germinal, in the year 10th, (March 25th, 1802.)

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.
CORNWALLIS.
AZARA.
SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

(A true copy.) J. BUONAPARTE.

Separate Article to the DEFINITIVE TREATY, *added thereto, March 27th*, 1802.

It is agreed, that the omiſſion of ſome titles which may have taken place, in the preſent Treaty, ſhall not be prejudicial to the powers, or to the perſons concerned.

It is further agreed, that the Engliſh and French languages, made uſe of in all the copies of the preſent Treaty, ſhall not form an example, which may be alledged or quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudice the Contracting Powers, whoſe languages have not been uſed; and, that for the future, what has been obſerved, and ought

to be obſerved with regard to, and on the part of powers who are in the practice and poſſeſſion of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in any other language, ſhall be conformed with; the preſent Treaty, having, nevertheleſs, the ſame force and virtue as if the aforeſaid practice had been therein obſerved.

In witneſs whereof, we, the underwritten Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majeſty, of the French Republic, of his Catholic Majeſty, and of the Batavian Republic, have ſigned the preſent ſeparate Article, and have cauſed our reſpective ſeals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the 27th day of March, 1802, the 6th Germinal, Year 10 of the French Republic.

(L. S.) CORNWALLIS.
JOSEPH BUONAPARTE.
J. NICHOLAS DE AZARA.
R. J SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

Separate Convention between FRANCE *and the* BATAVIAN REPUBLIC, *explanatory of the 18th Article of the* DEFINITIVE TREATY *between* FRANCE, SPAIN, *and* HOLLAND, *on the one Part, and* GREAT BRITAIN, *on the other Part.*

The underſigned Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, declares, conformably to exiſting ſtipulations between France and the Batavian Republic; and in virtue of ſpecial inſtructions, with which he is furniſhed to that effect, on the part of his government, that the indemnity ſtipulated in favour of the Houſe of Naſſau, in the 18th Article of the preſent Treaty, ſhall in no upon any account, or in any manner, be at the charge of the Batavian Republic; the French Government being guarantyed to this effect towards the ſaid Republic.

The underſigned Plenipotentiary of the Batavian Republic, in the name of his government, accepts the above Declaration, as explanatory of the aforeſaid 18th Article of the Definitive Treaty, ſigned this day by the Plenipotentiaries of the Four Contracting Powers.

The preſent Act ſhall be preſented at the Ratification of the two reſpective governments, and the Ratifications exchanged in due form.

Done at Amiens, March 27th.

(Signed) J. BUONAPARTE.
R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

A few days after the arrival of the news in England of the concluſion of this Treaty, an official Letter, from Lord St. Helens, at Peterſburgh, announced the agreement of the Courts of Sweden and Denmark to the Convention ſigned with Ruſſia, reſpecting the rights of neutral powers; and that the Swediſh ambaſſador had been diſtinctly informed by the Count De Hotſchoubey, the Ruſſian miniſter, that, as the motives which had occaſioned the late revival of the ſyſtem of armed neutrality, were now happily done away, that ſyſtem was conſidered by the Court of Ruſſia as abſolutely annulled and abandoned, not only as a general code of maritime law, but even in its more limited meaning, of a ſpecial engagement between Ruſſia, and the other confederates.

Having preſerved the Act of Acceſſion, by which Denmark recogniſed the Treaty with the Court of St. Peterſburgh, (ſee p. 257) we ſhall here inſert that by which Sweden, ſomewhat later, acceded to the ſame Convention.

ACT OF ACCESSION

Of his Majeſty the KING OF SWEDEN *to the* CONVENTION *of the 5th, (17th) June*, 1801; *and Acceptance of his Majeſty the* KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

His Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great

L. R. Schimmelpenninck.

Pub. by Jones & Bumford 1848.

Britain and Ireland, and his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, having terminated, by a Convention, concluded at St. Petersburgh the 5th (17th) June, 1801, the differences which had ariſen between them, reſpecting the rights of neutral navigation in time of war; and his Majeſty the King of Sweden, equally induced by the deſire of removing and conciliating the diſſentions which exiſted, on the ſame ſubject, between his Britannic Majeſty and himſelf, having conſented, in conſequence of the invitation that has been made to him, to accede to the above-mentioned Convention: their ſaid Majeſties have choſen and named, as their Plenipotentiaries to this effect: viz. his Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; Alleyne, Lord Baron St. Helen's, Peer of the ſaid United Kingdom, one of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, and his Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias; and his Majeſty the King of Sweden, the Sieur Baron Louis Bogiſlas Chriſtopher Count De Stedingk, one of the Lords of the Kingdom of Sweden, his Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Imperial Majeſty of all the Ruſſias, Lieutenant-general of his armies, Chamberlain, Knight and Commander of his Orders, Knight of the Ruſſian Order of St. Andrew, Knight of the Grand Croſs of his Order of the Sword, Knight of thoſe of Ruſſia, of St. Alexander Newſky, and of St. Anne, of the Firſt Claſs, and Knight of the French Order of Military Merit; who, after having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have concluded and agreed upon what follows:

ART. I. His Majeſty the King of Sweden accedes, by the preſent tranſaction, with his Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to the Convention which was concluded between his ſaid Majeſty, and the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, the 5th (17th) June, 1801, as well as to the firſt ſeparate Article annexed thereto; and to the additional ones, concluded on the 8th

(20th) October, 1801, promiſing and engaging to obſerve and fulfil all the ſtipulations, clauſes, and articles, therein contained, in the ſame manner as if his Majeſty had been a principal contracting party thereto; ſave and except the differences which reſult from the tenor of the treaties and engagements exiſting between England and Sweden, and which are to be renewed and confirmed in virtue of the aforeſaid Convention.

II. His Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, acknowledges, on his ſide, his Majeſty the King of Sweden as a Contracting Party in the Convention concluded at St. Peterſburgh, the 5th (17th) June, 1801, and binds himſelf, in the moſt formal manner, to obſerve, execute, and fulfil, to their utmoſt extent, in whatever regards his ſaid Majeſty, the ſtipulations, clauſes, and articles, of the ſaid Convention, and of the ſaid firſt ſeparate Article, and of the additional ones; ſave and except the differences which reſult from the tenor of the treaties and engagements exiſting between England and Sweden, and which are to be renewed and confirmed in virtue of the aforeſaid Convention.

III. It is agreed, that the adjudication, in the laſt reſort of cauſes in litigation, which, according to the ſecond Article of the aforeſaid additional Articles, are to be brought by appeal before his Majeſty's Privy Council in Great Britain, and before the directing Senate in Ruſſia, ſhall, in Sweden, be brought by appeal before the ſupreme tribunal in Swediſh Hogſta Domſtolen.

IV. In order to prevent any inaccuracy, it has been agreed, that the ſaid Convention, as well as the ſaid ſeparate and additional Articles, ſhould be inſerted here, word for word, and as follows:

[*Fiat Inſertio.*]

The preſent Act of Acceſſion ſhall be ratified in good and due form, and the Ratifications exchanged at London, in the ſpace of two months, or ſooner, if poſſible, from the day of its ſignature.

In faith of which, we, the underſigned, in virtue of our full powers, have ſigned the preſent Act, and have thereunto affixed the ſeal of our arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh, the 18th (30th March, 1802.)

(L. S.) St. HELENS.

(L. S.) COUNT STEDINGK.

By this Declaration, joined to the effect of the Treaty of Amiens, Great Britain was in peace and friendſhip with all the powers of Europe. The leaſt ſanguine minds confidently predicted a continuance of amity with France, and the repoſe of the continents. Happy preſages! had they been fulfilled.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Death of the Duke of Bedford and Lord Clare.—Diſcuſſions reſpecting the Definitive Treaty in the Houſes of Lords and Commons.—Its Proclamation.—Appointment of Ambaſſadors by France and England, and Delay in their Departure.—Political Occurrences ſubſequent to the Definitive Treaty.—Treaty of Peace between France and Tunis.—The Proclamation of the famous CONCORDAT.*—Its Articles, and Celebration in Notre Dame.*

ABOUT this time happened the death of two very conſiderable perſonages: John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland; and Francis Ruſſell, Duke of Bedford; both of them characters of no ordinary ſtamp; and the latter embalmed to poſterity in the celebrated Eulogy of his friend and compatriot, Charles James Fox:

"Poets themſelves muſt fall, like thoſe they ſung."

That illuſtrious Stateſman has, ſince, paid the debt of nature; and, perhaps, enjoys, even now, the converſe of the friend he loved.

The Definitive Treaty of peace by no means gave ſatisfaction to this country: the people at large were diſcontented with it, and, in the Houſe of Commons, it underwent a ſevere examination. In the Houſe of Lords, Lord Grenville took the lead upon this occaſion, and entered minutely into the merits of the Treaty; and concluded a luminous and able ſpeech by moving, that, in an addreſs to the throne, the danger which this country was in might be duly in-

fiſted on, from the ſacrifices ſhe had made, without any adequate compenſation on the part of France: this was oppoſed by the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Pelham, and was, finally, negatived by a majority of 108. In the Houſe of Commons Mr. Windham took the ſame ground, in a moſt able ſpeech, which occupied nearly three hours in the delivery. He went through the ſeveral parts of the Definitive Treaty; and though, perhaps, it may be objected, that he took rather too ſombre a view of the buſineſs, yet it cannot be denied, that, in a majority of caſes, he was juſtified. He concluded by moving an addreſs, ſimilar to what had been moved by Lord Grenville in the Houſe of Lords: it was ſeconded by Lord Folkſtone. Lord Hawkeſbury then roſe, and in a very eloquent ſpeech, defended *(as in duty bound)* the bantling of himſelf and colleagues. The debate was warm and animated; and the magnitude of its object was ſo great that it was adjourned to the enſuing day, when Mr. Windham's motion was loſt by a majority of 256 to 20!

From this tranſient view of what paſſed in either Houſe, it is ſufficiently manifeſt, that the peace was a matter of regret to all that were capable of reflecting on its nature and conditions. It was generally thought that we had compromiſed our honour and dignity; and, moreover, that we had concluded a peace fundamentally inſecure.

Shortly after the diſcuſſions upon this ſubject, and ſome others, that were brought before the Houſe, the Parliament was adjourned June 28, and, ſoon after, diſſolved by proclamation.

The mob found nothing to cavil at in our pacific arrangements; it was to them a ſeaſon of feſtivity

and riot, and they were contented. Peace was proclaimed in the cities of London and Weſtminſter on the 29th of April, and the moſt lively ſenſations of joy were expreſſed by the million. Illuminations of a ſplendid nature took place, and M. Otto's houſe was diſtinguiſhed for its magnificence. A curious circumſtance occurred with regard to this gentleman, which, as indicative of national character, it may be worth while to mention. Attracted by the preparations at his houſe in Portman Square, the mob took notice that the word CONCORD was put in coloured lamps over the door; the reading of John Bull, however, was CONQUERED, and his inference, that England was *conquered* by France: diſturbance and riot were about to commence; when M. Otto, after ſome fruitleſs atttempts at explanation, prudently conceded, and ſubſtituted the word AMITY. But it did not end here; for ſome ſailors found out that G. R. was not ſurmounted, as uſual, by a crown; this they peremptorily inſiſted ſhould be done, and a lamp, forming a diadem, was immediately put up.

The public began now anxiouſly to look for the arrival of the French ambaſſador, and for the departure of Lord Whitworth, who was appointed to fill that important ſituation at the Firſt Conſul's court, on the part of England. Nor could it be ſatisfactorily accounted for why any delay ſhould have ariſen in this ordinary diplomatic arrangement. The nomination of the French ambaſſador had taken place about the ſame time as the Engliſh; viz. in April: the choice of the Firſt Conſul fell upon General Andreoſſy, who had ſerved under Buonaparté in Egypt. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe early appointments, General Andreoſſy did not arrive in England, nor Lord

Gen.l Lafayette.

Whitworth fail for France, till the 10th of November following.

Let us now, during the feverifh interval of peace, (if peace that can be called which had every afpect of diftruft and war) take a curfory review of the events that occurred meanwhile.

The firft that immediately followed the Treaty of Amiens was, a Convention between the French and Batavian ambaffadors at Amiens, in the name of their refpective governments, that the indemnities which were ftipulated by that treaty to be given to the family of Orange were not at all to be at the charge of Holland. If this had been fo underftood between the Britifh and French ambaffadors, it would appear that there was no occafion for this feparate convention; if it was not fo underftood, it then follows, that, on the very day of figning the Treaty of Amiens, France by a folemn act violated the fpirit and true conftruction of the negotiation.

The next political occurrence that followed was the treaty of peace between France and Tunis; or, rather, the fubmiffion of the Dey to the menaces of Buonaparté.

At this time there hardly exifted a ferment in any country in Europe, Switzerland excepted: the people there were very averfe from the conftitution which France had forced upon them, and impatient for the execution of the Treaty of Luneville, which declared their country to be independent, and to have an undoubted right to choofe fuch a conftitution or form of government as was moft agreeable to the people. Some tumults alfo exifted in the little republic of the Seven Iles, occafioned by the attempts to introduce an ariftocracy of the ancient Venetian nobility

into the government of this new-formed republic. This infringement was violently reſiſted by the people; the parties were, however, prevented from proceeding to extremities by the interpoſition of the Engliſh commodore, who was cruiſing off that ſtation.

There was now nothing of importance to diſturb the peace of Europe, and Buonaparté had leiſure to purſue thoſe ſchemes of ambition which continually kept dawning on his mind and extending the horizon of his hopes. In order to give a permanent duration to the power he had aſſumed, he felt it neceſſary to conciliate the affections and ſooth the paſſions of the different parties in France. Hitherto the people of France had ſubmitted to be the mere inſtrument of every party, as it happened to predominate in the councils of that diſtracted country; but it was well known that the great majority of them (particularly the peaſantry) were much diſſatisfied at the abolition of their ancient religion, and wiſhed to ſee it again reinſtated in its former ſplendor. Buonaparté was fully aware of this predominant inclination; and, during the war, he entered into a convention with the Pope, by which the new ſyſtem of the Gallican church was completely ſettled. This convention, or, as it was ſtyled, *Concordat*, which bore date the 10th of September, 1801, was not made public in Paris till a fortnight after the ſignature of the Treaty of Amiens.

This celebrated piece of policy is by far too intereſting a document, too prominent a feature in the Life of Buonaparté, to be omitted in a hiſtory of his own actions: to abridge it would be to mutilate what cannot be comprehended unleſs viewed entire; and we ſhall, therefore, preſent our readers with it, re-

commending them to perufe, with deep attention, its feveral Articles, and to bear in mind the fituation of Buonaparté at this period, and his future views.

CONVENTION

Between the FRENCH GOVERNMENT *and the* POPE, PIUS VII *Ratified the 23d Fructidor, Year 9* (10th *September*, 1801.)

The Chief Conful of the French Republic and his Holinefs the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VII have named as their refpective Plenipotentiaries:

The Chief Conful, the Citizens Joſeph Buonaparté, Counſellor of State; Cretet, Counſellor of State; and Bernier, Doctor of Divinity, Curate of St. Laud d'Angers, furniſhed with full powers:

His Holinefs, his Eminence Monſeigneur Hercule Conſalvi, Cardinal of the holy Roman Church, Deacon of St. Agathe *ad Suburram*, his Secretary of State; Joſeph Spina, Archbiſhop of Corinth, Domeſtic Prelate to his Holineſs, Attendant on the Pontifical Throne; and Father Caſelli, his Holineſs's Adviſer on Points of Theology; in like manner furniſhed with full powers in due form:

Who, after exchanging their full powers, have concluded the following Convention:

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND HIS HOLINESS THE POPE, PIUS VII.

The Government of the Republic acknowleges, that the Catholic, Apoſtolical, and Roman Religion, is the religion of the great majority of French citizens:

His Holineſs, in like manner, acknowledges, that this ſame religion has derived, and is likely to derive, the greateſt benefit and the greateſt ſplendor from the eſtabliſhment of the Catholic worſhip in France, and from its being openly profeſſed by the Conſuls of the Republic.

This mutual acknowledgment being made in conſe-

quence, as well for the good of religion as for the maintenance of interior tranquillity, they have agreed as follows:

Art. I. The Catholic, Apoſtolical, and Roman Religion, ſhall be freely exerciſed in France: its ſervice ſhall be publicly performed, conformably to the regulations of police which the Government ſhall judge neceſſary for the public tranquillity.

II. There ſhall be made by the Holy See, in concert with the Government, a new diviſion of French dioceſes.

III. His Holineſs ſhall declare to the titular French biſhops, that he expects from them, with the firmeſt confidence, every ſacrifice, for the ſake of peace and unity—even that of their ſees.

After this exhortation, if they ſhould refuſe the ſacrifice commanded for the good of the Church, (a refuſal, nevertheleſs, which his Holineſs by no means expects) the ſees of the new diviſion ſhall be governed by biſhops, appointed as follows:

IV. The Chief Conſul ſhall preſent, within three months after the publication of his Holineſs's Bull, to the archbiſhoprics and biſhoprics of the new diviſion. His Holineſs ſhall confer canonical inſtitution according to the forms eſtabliſhed in France before the Revolution *(avant le changement de gouvernement.)*

V. The nomination to the biſhoprics which become vacant in future ſhall, likewiſe, belong to the Chief Conſul, and canonical inſtitution ſhall be adminiſtered by the Holy See, conformably to the preceding Article.

VI. The biſhops, before entering upon their functions, ſhall take, before the Chief Conſul, the oath of fidelity which was in uſe before the Revolution, expreſſed in the following words:

"I ſwear and promiſe to God, upon the holy Evangeliſts, to preſerve obedience and fidelity to the government eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution of the French Republic: I, likewiſe, promiſe, to carry on no correſpondence, to be preſent at no converſation, to form no connexion, whether

within the territories of the Republic or without, which may, in any degree, disturb the public tranquillity: and if, in my diocese or elsewhere, I discover that any thing is going forward to the prejudice of the State, I will, immediately, communicate to Government all the information I possess."

VII. Ecclesiastics of the second order shall take the same oath before the civil authorities appointed by the Government.

VIII. The following formula of prayer shall be recited, at the end of divine service, in all the Catholic churches of France:

Domine, salvam fac Rempublicam,
Domine, salvos fac Consules.

IX. The bishops shall make a new division of the parishes in their dioceses, which, however, shall not take effect till after it is ratified by Government.

X. The bishops shall have the appointment of the parish priests.

Their choice shall not fall but on persons approved of by Government.

XI. The bishops may have a chapter in their cathedral, and a seminary for the diocese, without the Government being obliged to endow them.

XII. All the metropolitan, cathedral, parochial, and other churches, which have not been alienated, accessary to public worship, shall be placed at the dispoſal of the bishops.

XIII. His Holiness, for the sake of peace and the happy re-establishment of the Catholic religion, declares, that neither he nor his successors will disturb in any manner those who have acquired the alienated property of the Church; and that, in consequence, that property, and every part of it, shall belong, for ever, to them, their heirs and assigns.

XIV. The Government shall grant a suitable salary to

biſhops and pariſh prieſts whoſe dioceſes and pariſhes are compriſed in the new diviſion.

XV. The Government ſhall, likewiſe, take meaſures to enable French Catholics, who are ſo inclined, to diſpoſe of their property for the ſupport of religion.

XVI. His Holineſs recogniſes in the Chief Conſul of the French Republic, the ſame rights and prerogatives in religious matters which the ancient government enjoyed.

XVII. It is agreed between the Contracting Parties, that in caſe any of the ſucceſſors of the preſent Chief Conſul ſhould not be a Roman Catholic, the rights and prerogatives mentioned in the foregoing Article, as well as the nomination to the biſhops' ſees, ſhall be regulated, with regard to him, by a new Convention.

The Ratification ſhall be exchanged at Paris, in the ſpace of forty days.

Done at Paris, the 26th Meſſidor, year 9 of the French Republic.

(Signed) JOSEPH BUONAPARTE.
HERCULES, Cardinalis Conſalvi.
JOSEPH, Archiep. Corinthi.
BERNIER.
F. CAROLUS CASELLI.

REGULATIONS OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

Of the Regulations of the Catholic Church, as connected with the Policy of the State.

ART. I. No bull, reſcript, decree, proviſion, or any thing in the place of a proviſion, or, in ſhort, any other diſpatch from the Court of Rome, even though it ſhould relate to individuals only, ſhall be received, publiſhed, printed, or otherways put in force, without the authority of the government.

II. No individual, aſſuming the character of nuncio, legate, vicar, or apoſtolic commiſſary, or whatever other appellation he may aſſume, ſhall be allowed to exerciſe his functions in France, but with the conſent of the govern-

ment, and in a manner conformable to the liberties of the Gallican church.

III. The decrees of foreign ſynods, or even of general councils, ſhall not be publiſhed in France before the government ſhall have examined their form, their conformity to the laws, rights, and privileges of the French Republic; and whatever might in their publication, have a tendency to alter or to affect public tranquillity.

IV. No national or metropolitan council, no diocesan ſynod, no deliberative aſſembly, ſhall be allowed to be held without the expreſs permiſſion of government.

V. All eccleſiaſtical functions ſhall be gratuitous, with the exception of thoſe oblations which ſhall be authoriſed, and fixed by particular regulations.

VI. Recourſe ſhall be had to the Council of State, in every inſtance of abuſe, on the part of ſuperiors, and other eccleſiaſtical perſons. The inſtances of abuſe are uſurpation, or acceſs of power; contravention of the laws and inſtitutions of the Republic; infraction of the rules conſecrated by the canons received in France; any attack upon the liberties, franchiſes, and cuſtoms of the Gallican church, and any attempt, which, in the exerciſe of worſhip, can compromiſe the honour of citizens, arbitrarily trouble their conſciences, or lead to oppreſſion, injury, or public [illegible]

VII. There ſhall [illegible] cil of State, on the ground [illegible] interrupt the exerciſe of public [illegible], on the liberty which the general [illegible] as well as particular regulations, guar[illegible] ter.

VIII. An appeal ſhall be competent to any [illegible] tereſted; and in caſe no complaint is exhibited by [illegible] duals, the buſineſs ſhall be taken up officially by the [illegible] fects. The public functionary, eccleſiaſtic, or individual, who ſhall wiſh to exerciſe this right of appeal, muſt addreſs a ſigned memorial, containing a detail of the grievance

complained of, to the Counſellor of State, preſiding over religious affairs, whoſe duty it will then become to make, with the leaſt poſſible delay, every inquiry into the ſubject; and upon his report, the affair ſhall be definitively ſettled, or ſent back, according to the urgency of the caſe, to the competent authorities.*

ARTICLES RELATIVE TO THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

General Diſpoſitions applicable to all Proteſtant Communions.

ART. I. No individual ſhall officiate as a miniſter of religion who is not by birth a Frenchman.

II. Neither the Proteſtant churches, nor their miniſters, ſhall have any connexion with a foreign power or authority.

III. The paſtors and miniſters of the different Proteſtant communions, ſhall pray for the proſperity of the French Republic, and the ſafety of the Conſuls.

IV. No doctrinal deciſion or formulary, under the title of a confeſſion, or under any other title, ſhall be publiſhed, or become a ſubject of inſtruction, before its publication has been authoriſed by the government.

V. No change ſhall take place in the forms of their diſcipline without the ſame authority.

VI. The Council of State ſhall take cognizance of all the plans formed by their miniſters, and of all the diſſenſions which may ariſe among them.

VII. It ſhall be underſtood, that to the ſupport of paſtors of conſiſtorial churches, the property of theſe churches ſhall be applied, as well as the oblations eſtabliſhed by uſage and by poſitive regulations.

VIII. The regulations applied to the ſpecific Articles of the Catholic worſhip reſpecting the liberty of endowments, and the nature of the property which can be

* The remaining regulations under this head, are merely of local and particular detail.

the object of them, ſhall be common to the Proteſtant churches.

IX. There ſhall be two academies or ſeminaries in the Eaſt of France, for the inſtruction of the miniſters of the Confeſſion of Augſburg.

X. There ſhall be a ſeminary at Geneva, for the inſtruction of the miniſters of the reformed churches.

XI. The profeſſors in all the academies or ſeminaries, ſhall be nominated by the Chief Conſul.

XII. No perſon ſhall be elected a miniſter or paſtor of any church of the Confeſſion of Augſburg, who has not ſtudied, during a fixed period, in one of the French ſeminaries appointed for miniſters of this perſuaſion, and who ſhall not produce a certificate, in due form, of his capacity and regular conduct, during the continuance of his ſtudies.

XIII. No perſon is to be elected a miniſter or paſtor of the reformed church, without having ſtudied in the ſeminary of Geneva, and without producing a certificate of the deſcriptions pointed out in the preceding Article.

XIV. The regulations reſpecting the adminiſtration and internal police of theſe ſeminaries, the number and the qualifications of the profeſſors, the mode of inſtruction, the ſubjects which are taught, together with the form of the certificates of application, good conduct, and capacity, are to be approved of by the government.

OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCHES OF THE CONFESSION OF AUGSBURGH.

SECTION I.—*General Regulations.*

XXXIII. The churches of the Confeſſion of Augſburg, ſhall have paſtors, local conſiſtories, inſpections, and general conſiſtories.

SECTION II.—*Of the Miniſters, Paſtors, and local Conſiſtories of each Church.*

XXXIV. With reſpect to paſtors, the regulation of the conſiſtorial churches, which was preſcribed by the 2d

Section of the preceding title, as applicable to the reformed paſtors and churches, is to be obſerved.

Section III.—*Of Inſpections.*

XXXV. The churches of the Confeſſion of Augſburg, ſhall be ſubject to inſpections.

XXXVI. Five conſiſtorial churches ſhall form the bounds of an inſpection.

XXXVII. Each inſpection ſhall be compoſed of a miniſter, and an elder from each church of the diſtrict. It ſhall not aſſemble without the permiſſion of the government. At its firſt meeting, the oldeſt of the miniſters of the diſtrict ſhall preſide. Each inſpection ſhall chooſe two laymen, and one clergyman, who ſhall take the title of inſpector, and whoſe duty it ſhall be to watch over the conduct of the miniſters, and to preſerve good order in the different churches: the choice of the inſpector and the two laymen ſhall be confirmed by the Firſt Conſul.

XXXVIII. The inſpection ſhall not aſſemble, without the authority of government, in preſence of the prefect or ſub-prefect, or without having given previous intelligence to the Counſellor of State, whoſe buſineſs it is to watch over religious affairs, of the ſubjects that are to come under diſcuſſion.

XXXIX. The inſpector ſhall viſit the churches of his diſtrict, and he may adopt the aſſiſtance of the two laymen named with him, as often as circumſtances ſhall appear to require. He ſhall be charged with the convocation of the general aſſembly of inſpection, no decree of which, however, ſhall be put in force till it has received the approbation of the government.

Section IV.—*Of General Conſiſtories.*

XL. There ſhall be three general conſiſtories: one at Straſburg for the Proteſtants of the Confeſſion of Augſburg, belonging to the Departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine; the ſecond at Mentz, for thoſe of the Departments of Laſſare and Mont Tonnerre; and the third

at Cologne, for thoſe of the Department of the Rhine and Moſelle, and La Roer.

XLI. Each conſiſtory ſhall be formed of one lay preſident, of two eccleſiaſtical inſpectors, and a deputy from each inſpection: the preſident, and the two eccleſiaſtical inſpectors ſhall be nominated by the Chief Conſul. The preſident ſhall take the ſame oath before the Chief Conſul, or a public functionary delegated for that purpoſe, which is impoſed upon the miniſters of the Catholic religion: the two eccleſiaſtical inſpectors, and the lay members, ſhall have the ſame oath adminiſtered to them by the preſident.

XLII. The general conſiſtory ſhall not be permitted to aſſemble without the conſent of the government, and unleſs in preſence of the prefect, or ſub-prefect, and after a notification of the ſubjects in diſcuſſion, as deſcribed in former Articles.

XLIII. During the interval between the different meetings, there ſhall be a directory, compoſed of the preſident, of the oldeſt of the two eccleſiaſtical inſpectors, and of three laymen, one of whom ſhall be nominated by the Chief Conſul; the two others, ſhall be choſen by the General Conſiſtory.

XLIV. The privileges of the General Conſiſtory, and the Directory, ſhall continue to be directed by the cuſtoms and regulations of the churches of the Confeſſion of Augſburg, in all points which have not been formally fixed by the laws of the Republic, or the preſent Articles.

Approved. The Firſt Conſul,
(Signed) BUONAPARTE.
By order of the Firſt Conſul.
The Secretary of State, H. B. MARET.

This new religious code, was announced to the French people, by a proclamation of the Firſt Conſul, dated April the 17th; and a ſolemn celebration of the event was to take place in the church of

Notre Dame, the metropolitan church of Paris, on the next day, being Sunday.

The magnificence of the *fête*, which eſtabliſhed and proclaimed the Catholic religion in France, was far greater and more dazzling than had attended any ſolemnity ſince the Revolution. The proceſſion of the Government to the cathedral, emulated every deſcription of cuſtom, luxury, and pomp. The conſtituted authorities were drawn up, in the cathedral, by eleven o'clock, at which hour the proceſſion moved from the Thuilleries. The Firſt Conſul was preceded by the *corps diplomatique*, the council of ſtate, the general officers, and the miniſters. His carriage was drawn by eight horſes, each led by a ſervant in a ſuperb livery; his corps of Mamelukes, alſo attended, in the richeſt uniforms. In the church, the family of Buonaparté was ſeated in the moſt conſpicuous place, above all the conſtituted authorities of France. The ceremony proceeded with great pomp. The anthems, and the appropriate muſic, were the work of the firſt compoſers in France, and the execution was by no means inferior. Every ſplendour that conſuls, cardinals, biſhops, archbiſhops, and the Pope's legate, could give to the re eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion in France, was moſt profuſely laviſhed on this ſolemnity. The magnificence of the ſpectacle, as well as the occaſion of it, were highly pleaſing to the French people; and this ſtep added greatly to the popularity of Buonaparté. It muſt, however, be remarked, that the Republican party were much diſpleaſed, and ſeveral of the military obeyed, with the utmoſt reluctance, the orders to ſalute the croſs, which was carried before the proceſſion.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Various Objects embraced by the Concordat.—Releases the Catholic Clergy from all their Obligations to the Pope.—The Head of the French Government considered as the Author of it, is the Deliverer of the Continent from an intolerable Yoke.—All Civil Power taken from the Ecclesiastics and placed in the Hands of the Prince.—The Objections that it has destroyed the Catholic Religion, answered.—Conduct of the Emigrants.—The Pope's Treatment of the Elector of Hanover, King of Prussia, &c.—Annual Mode of Cursing Luther.—Of the famous Bull In Cœna Domini.*—Objections answered. -Usurpation and Sloth of the Clergy in Germany and Switzerland.—State of Morals in Italy, &c.—Conduct of British Bishops towards the French Emigrants.—The Author of the Concordat compared with Constantine, Charlemagne, Henry VIII. and Cromwell.—How far it interests English Dissenters.—Unexampled Declaration of the Head of the French Government renouncing all Authority over Conscience, &c.*

THE importance of the Concordat, so far as it concerns religious liberty in general, is, undoubtedly, beyond all precedent. No event of equal concern, or pregnant with such good effects for Christianity, has ever taken place, since the papacy and princes, governed by its pernicious policy, had usurped the sacred and unalienable rights of conscience. This Concordat has, in a word, released the Catholic clergy from all exclusive obedience and obligation to the Pope, and placed the obligation where it ought

to be, in the prince and in the people. Hitherto, we have only ſeen the Head of the French Government, acting in the capacity of a ſkilful warrior, and the moſt conſummate general of his age; now, he ſhines out in a character much more illuſtrious, the deliverer of the continent from the eccleſiaſtical yoke, which neither the preſent generation, nor their fathers, were able to bear. Now, if in him we do not acknowledge the religious prince, we muſt admit that of the profound politician, the friend of peace, and the healer of animoſities. The Fifth Article of the Concordat, takes all the civil power out of the hands of the eccleſiaſtic, and places it in that of the prince, and the laws of the country. The archbiſhops and biſhops, ſwear and promiſe upon the holy goſpels, obedience and fidelity to the government, &c.; and that (no longer forming an intereſt ſeparate from the ſtate) they will have no underſtanding with, or take any part in any ſuſpected aſſociation, which may be prejudicial to the public tranquillity, &c. To ſuperficial obſervers, or to thoſe party writers, who wiſh to make it appear that there was nothing to fear, at this time of day, from the papal prerogative, and the privileges of eſtabliſhed churches, the Concordat may ſeem trivial, or a mere political artifice. But what do they urge againſt it whoſe privileges it has abridged? Though it does not change, or alter a ſingle dogma or article in the faith, profeſſed by the church of Rome, yet, they contend, viz. the enemies of Buonaparté, that it has deſtroyed the Catholic religion! Does not this ſufficiently prove the weight and importance which ſuch prieſts attached to their antient and excluſive privileges, by which they had power to diſturb the peace of king-

doms, and to harafs or perfecute the fubject, without the ability of the prince to interfere in his behalf? and does not this account for the motives of thofe Emigrants who refufe to return or fubfcribe to the Concordat; merely becaufe, though it has not altered their religion, it has abridged them of their revenues? In fact, to thofe Engliſh fubjects who wiſh to entertain a mean opinion of the Concordat, it would not be too much to fay, that they undervalue the dignity and prerogatives of their own fovereign: for till this conceſſion was obtained from the Pope, by Buonaparté, even the Elector of Hanover, in common with every other Proteſtant prince, was not acknowledged by the Pope; ſo that if any Catholic prince, at any time more powerful than the King of Great Britain, coud have deprived him of any, or all of his dominions, there was, till the Concordat was agreed upon, no law to prevent it. In fact, in the Pontifical, or Court Calendar, till very lately, printed at Rome, no mention is made of any Elector of Hanover, nor of the Kingdom, or Duchy of Pruſſia. In the Roman Genealogical Table of this latter Houſe, printed no longer ago than 1783, the Great Frederick is thus deſcribed: Charles Frederick, (Marcheſe) Marquis, a title ſo trifling at Rome as to be ridiculous. Prince Henry of Pruſſia is deſcribed, not as the king's brother, but brother to the Marquis! Till Buonaparté aroſe, no prince ever poſſeſſed ſufficient power or addreſs, to get the popes to renounce their aſſumed rights over kingdoms and ſtates. Not even the meek and faintly Pius VI. when he took a journey into Germany, in 1782, could be prevailed on, by perſuaſion, to grant the King of Pruſſia a formal recognition of the crown

In return to the endeavours of a Pruſſian miniſter, as Pius did not, at that time, wiſh to embroil himſelf with a German prince, he anſwered politely, and promiſed, that on his return to Rome, he would aſſemble a congregation of cardinals, without whom he could not come to any determination to deliberate on the ſubject. This congregation was never called, nor had this Pope the leaſt intention of fulfilling his promiſe.

But there was ſomething ſtill more miſchievous in the public proceedings, and conduct of the Popes, towards Proteſtants, before the Concordat was agreed upon; viz. the Pope did not merely refuſe to do what good might have been poſſible for him to do for the Proteſtants; but he poſitively did them harm and injury, by inſtilling the principles of hatred and animoſity into the minds of the people at large. Every year, in the ſervice of Holy Thurſday, the Pope excommunicated and curſed all heretics, and particularly the Lutherans, in theſe terms, "We, therefore, according to the antient and ſolemn form, excommunicate and anathematize on our own, and the part of the Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, all perſons following the hereſy of the impious and abominable Martin Luther, with all the favourers and receivers of the books of the ſaid Martin, &c." In reſpect to the more famous bull, *In Cœna Domini*;—this bull, written in 1610, by Paul V. and promulgated in 1627, by Urban VIII. is a complete collection of the anathemas, iſſued centuries ago, againſt thoſe who might be refractory to the orders of the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt. It, therefore, excommunicates heretics, ſchiſmatics, pirates, and corſairs; all who dare to appeal to a future

council againſt the bulls and briefs of the Pope; princes who eſtabliſh new taxes without the permiſſion of the pope: thoſe who make treaties of alliance with Turks or heretics; thoſe who complain to the ſecular judges, againſt the wrongs and injuries received from the court of Rome, &c. &c. Formerly, theſe inſolent prohibitions were read and promulgated once a year in France, and other countries over which the popes aſſumed an authority. It is true, that in 1763, ſome members of the Gallican church, that church which had often reſiſted the papal uſurpation, reſiſted, alſo, and put a ſtop to the annual reading of the bull in the French provinces of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne; but it is not leſs true, that the promulgation of it was never effectually ſtopped till laſt Holy Thurſday, 1807, when its uſual reading at Rome was, for the firſt time, diſpenſed with! It is true, that the Concordat does not ſtipulate for any ſuch meaſure; and of courſe, this proves that Buonaparté, with whom it muſt have originated, will cauſe the ſpirit of the Concordat to be reſpected, even where the letter is ſilent. His object has been to deprive the papal clergy of all interference whatever with the civil power; and though canonization, or ſaint-making, has been lately permitted at Rome, there can be little doubt, but that, in a ſhort time, this, alſo, will drop into diſuetude equally with the promulgation of the Pope's bulls.

It may be objected by the enemies of the Concordat, and, conſequently, of the Reformation, that the renovation of knowledge, and the ſpread of the ſ[illegible] would have inſenſibly corrected all the abuſes [illegible] in Catholic policy and practice; and that the [illegible] to frequent, have not lately been

heard of by any means so often as before. These objectors know little of the inconveniences which the subjects on the continent have laboured under, even to the moment when the Concordat was passed, and since. In the numerous estates and lands occupied by ecclesiastics, the prince could scarcely cut a road, or build a bridge, without the consent of that body, who appealed to Rome against any procedure which they supposed would militate, in the least degree, against their privileges; and, as for improvements in church lands, and under ecclesiastical princes, the wretched state, even of the Pope's own territory, and his immediate subjects, is known to a proverb. In fact, was it possible that men, excluded by their profession, from marriage, and of course, destitute of the ties of nature, should have an equal concern for posterity with the rest of mankind? On the contrary, as they knew they could enjoy their large estates only during their natural lives, it was indifferent to them, in what manner they were left to their successors. This is one reason that accounts for the misery under which so many fine countries belonging to monasteries, and monastic men, have languished, till the salutary intervention of the Great Statesman who brought about the Concordat, put an end to their usurpation and their sloth.

We have hitherto, said nothing of the money that used to be continually sent out of these countries to Rome, under various pretexts; these sums will now be made use of, in giving a new spring to commerce and industry—new prosperity to the subjects, and an increase of strength to the state. Before, treasures, when accumulated, were but too frequently left away from the heirs, and bestowed upon

the clergy, under a pretext for their praying the ſouls of the ſuperſtitious legatees out of purgatory. But now the French government, which gives the lead to all the reſt upon the continent, looks very narrowly into all legacies, now the immenſe poſſeſſions of the clergy, are placed at the diſpoſal of the governments. Many of theſe have wiſely availed themſelves of the authority of the Concordat, to pay their debts, fill their exhauſted treaſures, apply the property of whole abbies, and other foundations, in uſeful eſtabliſhments, in ſchools, univerſities, hoſpitals, orphan-houſes, dwellings, and rewards, for old ſervants of the ſtate; meaſures by which this property is reſtored to its primitive deſtination.

Now all this, in other words, is nothing leſs than ſubſtituting knowledge in the room of ignorance, and happineſs in the room of miſery. Even a French writer, ſpeaking of the recent ſtate of the continent, obſerved, "That while agriculture, œconomy, and its various branches, were in a deplorable ſtate of degradation in the fine provinces of Naples, Rome, Spain, and Portugal; what activity, on the contrary, what improvements in agriculture, &c. ſtrike the attention of an obſerver in the cold and unfertile fields of Scotland, England, and Holland. There the hand of man creates every thing, becauſe it labours for itſelf; there it is all powerful, becauſe it is free, and a ſuitable inſtruction guides it." The contraſt between a government of Popiſh prieſts, and Proteſtant princes, is ſtill ſtronger in Switzerland and Germany, where the different territories being intermixed till lately, cauſed the traveller to paſs continually from a Catholic to a Proteſtant country, or *vice verſa*. In that caſe it was obſerved, "Does

the traveller meet with a miſerable mud cottage covered with thatch, the fields badly kept, wretched mean peaſants, and many beggars, &c. he can then ſcarcely err, if he conceives himſelf in a Catholic country; if, on the contrary, neat pleaſant houſes are ſeen, with well incloſed fields, and a culture well underſtood, it is as probable that he is then among Proteſtants."

With reſpect to Switzerland in particular, the former happineſs of which it has been the faſhion of party writers, and the advocates of the preſent war, to magnify to the ſkies, ſince it has been ſubject to the power of France, even the Catholic part has been miſerably defective. The author of the "Eſſay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation, by Luther," obſerves, "Let the fertile plains of Soleure, be compared with the much leſs favoured ſoil of Argovia; the rocky ſterile land of the Pays de Vaud, with the magnificent Italian Switzerland, or the well ſheltered Valais; the territory of Neufchatel, with the fruitful fields of the country lately ſubjected to the Abbey of St. Gall; and, finally, even the ſtates of this monk-prince; and, it will everywhere appear, that the activity and knowledge of man is ſuperior even to the liberality of prodigal nature, where her benefits, as among the Catholic cantons, are loſt to idleneſs, deſpondence, or the want of care." At preſent, Switzerland, though not included in the Concordat or Convention, agreed to by the Pope, enjoys, at leaſt, in conſequence of its connection with France, all the advantages ſecured by this important inſtrument. The celebrated philanthropiſt, Howard, obſerved, that the priſons in Italy were inceſſantly crowded; at Venice, he has ſeen three or four hun-

dred perſons in the principal priſon. At Naples, in the Succurſal, or priſon of eaſe, called Vicaria, nine hundred and eighty; while he affirms, that the priſons in the Proteſtant city of Berne, are almoſt always empty; in thoſe of Lauſanne, he did not find any priſoner, and only three individuals under arreſt at Schaffhauſen. Of the removal of the miſery of theſe places firſt mentioned, under the Concordat, ſcarcely a rational doubt can be now entertained; and, probably, the correſpondence between the culture of lands, and the culture of minds, will be found to poſſeſs more ſimilarity than may at firſt be imagined.

In any thing that has been ſtated here with reſpect to the baleful influence of Catholic governments, upon the morals and condition of their ſubjects, we would wiſh not to be underſtood, as by any means, cenſuring the Catholic religion, as ſincerely adopted, and profeſſed by the latter. The policy of the unreformed Catholic governments, and the piety of individuals, muſt not, by any means, be confounded; becauſe the difference between them is almoſt equivalent to right and wrong, good and evil.

It is the enemies of civil and religious liberty, who have ran into extremes with reſpect to Catholics and Proteſtants, juſt as they were diſpoſed to flatter thoſe in power, or to wreak their reſentment upon thoſe who differed from them in a religious way of thinking. Hence, the epithets of Antichriſtian, Babyloniſh, and every odious appellation, was liberally dealt out, occaſionally, upon the members of the Roman community, till the preſent war broke out; then it became faſhionable, becauſe the French peo-

ple naturally ran into ſome extremes in reforming their worſhip, to brand them as atheiſts and monſters! It became faſhionable, even to pity the idle horde of prieſts who moſtly doomed themſelves to exile! And while a number of conſcientious diſſenters, who ſhewed themſelves friends to religious liberty, even among enemies, were ſtigmatized by ſome of the dignified Engliſh clergy, by terms of odium and contempt, they felt neither ſhame nor inconſiſtency in acknowledging the emigrants or exiles, as their "*fellow chriſtians and brethren.*" To this malignant kind of charity, if ſuch it may be called, the Concordat, as deſtroying the groundwork of all theſe odious diſtinctions, at leaſt ſo far as it has hitherto operated, has put a happy period.

In fine, in the means of improvement, reformation, and reconciliation, with which the meaſures adopted by this new power has bleſſed Europe; and as ſome conſolation for the wars and calamities attendant upon the great ſtruggle which has produced this important event, we may hail a new æra. This ought, undoubtedly, to form a new period in the hiſtory of Chriſtendom, becauſe it is evident that the annals of the laſt 1800 years, do not produce any ſimilar event. Conſtantine, Charlemagne, Henry VIII. and even Cromwell, have been eſteemed as reformers, and friends to Chriſtianity and improvement; but what have they affected in compariſon with the events of the laſt ſeventeen years? Conſtantine, it is admitted, found the antient Roman empire in a ſtate of diſtraction, nearly equal to that of modern France, when the preſent head of the government came into power. Conſtantine, like him, began with what is called toleration. In his

firſt edict in favour of the Chriſtians, he ſaid, in expreſs terms, ſpeaking of the Heathen ſubjects; "It is our will that ſuch as follow the errors of the Gentiles, ſhould enjoy the ſame tranquillity, and the ſame repoſe which the faithful enjoy; and we eſteem this reciprocal toleration to be the beſt mean of propagating the truth. Let no one, therefore, preſume to moleſt his fellow-creature; let every perſon live as he pleaſeth; and let thoſe who chooſe to adhere to a falſe religion, not only enjoy their forms of worſhip, but their temples." But this ſame Conſtantine was not able to withſtand a narrow minded and intriguing prieſthood, which, inured to the perſecution of each other, could not endure the thoughts of leaving thoſe they deemed their enemies at peace, and unmoleſted. He iſſued another edict, revoking all his formal grants, and authorizing ſoldiers to pull down the temples, impriſon the prieſts, and diſperſe the worſhippers; but while he thus eſtabliſhed his tenets by fire and ſword, he was, himſelf, inceſſantly changing; perpetually paſſing over from one party to another, and preaching and inculcating contradictory doctrines, until, as one of his hiſtorians obſerves, forgetting, through the exceſs of zeal to be baptized, he died an heretic.

Conſtantine was ſtill called the firſt Chriſtian emperor; but what name can be given to his campaigns, particularly in Germany; or can the manner of his making war be paralleled with anything in the moſt odious character of modern times. Conſtantine, ſays a tranſlator of the courtly *Euſebius, de Vita Conſt*, paſſed the Rhine, and entered into the country of the Bructeri, whom he gave up *to fire and ſword:* nothing was ſpared. The villages were

burned, the cattle taken or ſlaughtered; the men and women were maſſacred; and they who eſcaped that death, by being made priſoners, underwent a fate ſtill more ſevere; as he judged them incapable of ever performing the leaſt uſeful ſervice to the cauſe, on account of their ungovernable fierceneſs, and their perfidy, they were thrown alive to the wild beaſts, whoſe ferocity they irritated. He, afterwards, entrapped his father-in-law, into the crime of murdering an innocent perſon, for which he put him to death. The death of his own wife and ſon, alſo occurred under circumſtances that ought to have inſpired a very different conduct. Conſtantine had juſt returned, in triumph, from the council of Nice; he was congratulating himſelf upon having given a dinner to upwards of 300 biſhops, and kiſſed the wounds of martyrs, when, on a ſudden, hurried away by mere ſuſpicion, and the bare imputation of a crime, even difficult to believe, he put his ſon Criſpus to death. Shortly after, turning his fury from the accuſed to the accuſer, he ordered that his wife, the Empreſs, Fauſta, ſhould be ſuffocated. In a word, exclnſive of the reſt of his crimes, while by keeping exorbitant revenues upon a corrupt clergy, whatever may be ſaid of the benefits he conferred upon the ſtate, that he poiſoned the church cannot be denied. Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, was a reformer, but, unlike the preſent head of the French Government, he was indebted to the papacy for the extenſion of his own power; and, inſtead of humbling that eccleſiaſtical uſurpation, he, in return for what he had received from it, eſtabliſhed it more firmly than before.

The Reformation under Henry VIII. and his ſuc-

ceſſors, was juſtly boaſted of till another occurred that left it far behind in conſequence and effect. This reformation cut off many of the miſchievous branches of popery. It was juſtly reſerved for a Napoleon to cut it up by the roots.

Cromwell the Protector, made large and laudable ſtrides towards the object of religious emancipation. He granted liberty of conſcience to diſſenters from the Eſtabliſhment, of every deſcription. He even attempted to relieve the Jews from the reproach that had preſſed upon them for centuries; but obſtacles oppoſed him from the religious and the mercenary among his ſubjects. This taſk was reſerved for a greater than Cromwell. The concluſion, upon the whole, therefore is, that what the efforts of ſeveral centuries, repeatedly renewed, has failed in attempting, has now been effected at once in the concluſion of the Concordat; the object of which was, to ſtifle the ſource of religious bigotry, and to detach, for ever, the ſecular arm from the power and influence of lordly eccleſiaſtics. Speaking as lovers of mankind, and advocates for religious toleration, this was as much the cauſe of the diſſenter in England, as the diſſenter upon the continent. As to its being effected by a man who is the enemy of this country, this does not, by any means, derogate from its efficacy, or its merit. It is a part of generoſity, to admit of whatever is laudable, even in a foe; of courſe, when it is conſidered, that whoever the monarch may be who can compaſs a point to which no other could ever arrive, he, ſo far, is entitled to a precedency beyond his compeers; and of him who was the firſt to declare, "That he did

not wiſh men to think themſelves indebted to him, becauſe he had been merely juſt; and that conſcience is not within the juriſdiction of human laws, it is ſurely not too much to ſay, that he certainly is the greateſt reformer that ever diſtinguiſhed the imperial purple, or the regal diadem.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Critical Situation of Buonaparté.—His policy.—Observation on the Exercise of his Power.—His Plans for the Promotion of the Arts.—Improvements in Agriculture, and public Morals.—His private Deportment.—A fine Trait in his Character.—Grand Expedition of the French against St. Domingo.—Sketch of the Conduct of the English in that Island.—Buonaparte's Letter to Citizen Toussaint.—An Account of the Character of that Chief.—The sailing of the French Fleet from Brest, L'Orient, &c.—Its arrival at Cape Francois, and the subsequent Proceedings.—Proclamation of General Leclerc.

WE have already noticed the Articles agreed upon relative to the Proteſtants in France; but as the preſent was the firſt period in which Buonaparté had found himſelf in profound peace, and, as the public mind was no longer to be amuſed by his victories, which had wholly occupied it for the two preceding years, it required no ſmall portion of political ſkill to manage a nation deemed ſo ardent, ſo irritable, and ſo fickle, as that of the French.

It has been admitted, to have been his general plan from the beginning, to unite vigour with lenity; to amuſe and gratify the French people as much as poſſible; to qualify, or rather overawe liberty, privileges, and pretenſions, by a complicated chain of dependencies on himſelf, and by the command of an immenſe military: but, at the ſame time, it is but juſtice to obſerve, and to record, that his power was neither exercised with wanton caprice, nor kept unemployed in promoting the public good. In the

preferments he made, merit was generally the firſt qualification conſidered. He reſtored the operation of laws, and, as much as he could, that of religion. He ſet about reforming the civil code of France in a very ſerious manner, founding it wholly on a moral baſis, and extending its influence for the comfort and well-being of individuals, to many domeſtic ſituations, caſes, and relations, which the law before had never taken cognizance of. He formed a plan for educating youth in all the departments, for the encouragement of genius, and the advancement of ſcience. He adopted various regulations in the finances, commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. In his patronization of the arts, liberal and mechanical, new canals, new roads, and new bridges, made their appearance: and knowing the French are fond of ſhew and parade, he diſtributed conſiderable ſums for improving and embelliſhing the capital, and other places, among which the Conſular palaces were not forgotten. In increaſing the ſplendour of the nation, he increaſed his own; but, at the ſame time, he proved himſelf no enemy to public feaſts, ſpectacles, and entertainments; his regulations, his countenance, and example, all tended to diſcourage and check every kind of looſeneſs, effeminacy, or frivolity in manners, in matters of amuſement, and of taſte; he honoured marriage, and a domeſtic life; conſtancy and ſincerity in attachments and friendſhips. Reſpecting the theatre, he ſet his face ſeverely againſt all looſe and frivolous pieces, only encouraging ſuch as were of a grave, moral, or dignified caſt; he, of courſe, ſhewed more countenance to tragedies than any other dramatic performances. In his own private deportment, he exhibited an example of a ſim-

ple and laborious life. He purſued no extravagant amuſements or propenſities, but lived comfortably with his family; and, generally ſpeaking, was beloved by them. In fact, his life ſeems to have been that of labour, with very little relaxation. Nothing paſſed in the Council of State, that did not undergo his ſtrict examination. He heard different opinions with great patience, conſidering his own ardency of mind; but he ſaw every thing with his own eyes, and always exerciſed his own judgment. Reſpecting his clemency, his conduct towards malefactors, and even traitors, poſterity will do him ample juſtice.

A fine trait in his character muſt certainly be admitted; when the magiſtrates of Paris had paſſed a reſolution to erect a triumphal portico in honour of him, at an expence of 600,000 livres. It was decreed, beſides, "That the Firſt Conſul ſhall be requeſted to accept the preſent deliberation as a homage of gratitude, and a pledge of the reſpectful attachment of the city of Paris."

The Firſt Conſul returned an anſwer by the following letter:

"CITIZENS,

"I have ſeen, with gratitude, the ſentiments which animate the magiſtrates of the city of Paris. The idea of dedicating monuments to men who render themſelves uſeful to the people, is honourable to nations. I accept the offer of the monument which you wiſh to erect to me; let the place be determined, but leave to future ages the care of confirming it; if they ſhould ratify the good opinion which you entertain of me.

"I ſalute you affectionately,

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE."

Notwithſtanding the French government had been branded with the odious names of deſpotiſm and tyranny, the forms of liberty were ſtill admitted to exiſt in France. It has, hence, been cuſtomary for the Executive Government, to lay before the Legiſlature, at ſtated times, an *expoſé*, or ſtate of the nation, reſembling the King of Great Britain's ſpeeches on the opening of parliament. In the firſt of the former kind, after the ſettling of the Preliminaries of Peace, Buonaparté obſerved, "That the Engliſh people had embraced peace with enthuſiaſm. The hatred of rivalſhip is extinguiſhed: the emulation of great actions and uſeful enterprizes only remain." He then, alſo, obſerved, that "The government, from the firſt day of its inſtitution, proclaimed liberty of conſcience. This ſolemn act calmed the minds which had been frightened by imprudent rigours; the ceſſation of religious diſſention has ſince been announced. A magiſtrate charged with every thing that concerns public worſhip, has attended to the rights of every ſect; he has collected, in conference with the Lutheran and Calviniſt miniſters, the information neceſſary to prepare regulations which will ſecure to all, the liberty which belongs to them."

In Egypt, he obſerved, "The ſoldiers of the army of the Eaſt have yielded, rather to circumſtances, than to the force of Turkey or England; and certainly they would have conquered if they had fought united; at length they return to their country with the glory due to four years of labour and courage. In Buonaparté's *expoſé*, he obſerved, "that at St. Domingo, ſome irregular acts had given alarm for its allegiance; but an army and a fleet, which were preparing to ſet out from the ports of Europe, would

ſoon diſſipate all theſe clouds, and St. Domingo return entirely under the laws of the Republic."

The proſpect of peace with England, had induced the Firſt Conſul to turn his thoughts to the recovery of that valuable colony to France. The celebrated General Touſſaint Louverture, was one of the laſt chieftains who had riſen into conſequence in that devoted iſland, after a ſtruggle between the blacks and whites, during nearly four years, from 1795 to 1798; and, in which the Engliſh, unfortunately, taking part with the French inhabitants, who wiſhed to come under the Britiſh yoke, ſuffered the moſt dreadful mortality, by ſickneſs more than the ſword; and, were at length, compelled to evacuate the iſland, at a period when, out of their whole number, not more than 1,100 were left alive. The laſt places they evacuated were the towns of Port-au-prince, and St. Marc, with their reſpective dependencies, together with the pariſh of Arcahaye; a meaſure, which, by a judicious agreement with Touſſaint, the Engliſh Brigadier-general Maitland, happily effected without loſs, and withdrew, with the troops, to Mole St. Nicholas. In a word, the final retreat of the Britiſh from the iſland, took place in October 1798; but, between that period, and the latter end of 1801, after the ſigning of the Preliminaries of Peace with England, the French could never recover their authority in that iſland; this induced Buonaparté to ſend a fleet and a powerful army for that purpoſe, and to announce the ſame in the following terms:

To Citizen TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, *General in Chief of the Army of* ST. DOMINGO.

"CITIZEN GENERAL,

"Peace with England, and all the powers of Europe,

which places the Republic in the firſt degree of greatneſs and power, enables, at the ſame time, the Government to direct its attention to St. Domingo. We ſend thither, Citizen Leclerc, our brother-in-law, in quality of Captain-general, as firſt magiſtrate of the colony. He is accompanied with the neceſſary forces to make the ſovereignty of the French people be reſpected. It is under theſe circumſtances, that we are diſpoſed to hope that you will prove to us, and to all France, the ſincerity of the ſentiments you have conſtantly expreſſed in the different letters you have written to us. We have conceived an eſteem for you, and we wiſh to recognize and proclaim the great ſervices you have done the French people. If their colours fly on St. Domingo, it is to you, and your brave blacks, that they are indebted. Called by your talents, and the force of circumſtances, to the firſt command, you have deſtroyed the civil war, put a ſtop to the perſecutions of ſome ferocious men, reſtored to honour, the religion and worſhip of God, from whom all things proceed. The conſtitution that you have formed, though containing many good things, contains others which are contrary to the dignity and ſovereignty of the French people, of which St. Domingo forms but a part.

"The circumſtances in which you are placed, ſurrounded on all ſides by enemies, without the mother country being able to ſuccour or to feed you, have rendered legitimate the articles of that conſtitution, which, otherwiſe, could not be ſo. But now that circumſtances are ſo happily changed, you will be the firſt to render homage to the ſovereignty of the nation, which reckons you among the number of the moſt illuſtrious citizens, by the ſervices you have rendered to it, and by the talents and the force of character with which nature has endowed you.

"A contrary conduct would be irreconcileable with thoſe ideas we have conceived of you. It would deprive you of your numerous claims to the gratitude and good offices of the Republic, and would dig under your feet an abyſs, which, while it ſwallowed you up, would contri-

bute to the misery of those brave blacks, whose courage we love, and whom we should be sorry to punish for rebellion.

"We have made known to your children, and to their preceptor, the sentiments by which we are animated. We send them back to you. Assist with your councils, your influence and your talents, the Captain-general. What can you desire? the freedom of the blacks? You know, that in all the countries we have been in, we have given it to the people who had it not. Do you desire consideration, honours, fortune? It is not after the services you have rendered, the services you can still render, with the particular sentiments we have for you, that you ought to be doubtful with respect to your consideration, your fortune, and the honours that await you. Make known to the people of St. Domingo, that the solicitude which France has always evinced for their happiness, has often been rendered impotent by the imperious circumstances of war; that men, who came from the continent to agitate and nourish factions, were the produce of the factions which destroyed the country; that, in future, peace, and the power of the Government, ensure their prosperity and freedom. Tell them, that if liberty be to them the first of wants, they cannot enjoy it, but with the title of French citizens; and that every act, contrary to the interest of the country, the obedience they owe to the Government, and the Captain-general, who is the delegate of it, would be a crime against the national sovereignty, which would eclipse their services, and render St. Domingo the theatre of a wretched war, in which fathers and children would massacre each other. And you, General, recollect, that if you are the first of your colour that has attained such great power, and distinguished himself by his bravery and his military talents, you are, also, before God and us, responsible for their conduct. If there be disaffected persons who say to the individuals that have played a principal part in the troubles of St. Domingo, that we are coming

to aſcertain what they have done during the times of anarchy; aſſure them that we ſhall take cognizance of their conduct, only in this laſt circumſtance; and, that we ſhall not recur to the paſt, but to find out the traits that may have diſtinguiſhed them in the war carried on againſt the Spaniards and the Engliſh, who have been our enemies.

"Rely, without reſerve, on our eſteem; and conduct yourſelf as one of the principal citizens of the greateſt nations of the world ought to do.

"The Firſt Conſul—BUONAPARTE."

"Paris, 17th Brumaire, 8th Nov. 1801."

The virtues of Touſſaint, whom the enemies of Buonaparté will conſider as his rival, were, no doubt, over-rated. He was an African by birth, and was ſold as a ſlave, at an early period of his life. It has even been ſaid, that he could neither write nor read; however, that he poſſeſſed good natural parts, cannot be doubted, from the influence he acquired over thoſe of his own nation and colour, on the firſt breaking out of the troubles in St. Domingo. A character for humanity, probably recommended him as a fit inſtrument, to ſome of the white inhabitants, by whoſe influence, ſecretly exerted, he was raiſed to the chief command. He ſucceeded in compoſing the jaring factions; and he mitigated, if he could not eradicate, the ferocity of his own countrymen. From his general conduct, and the official papers, ſanctioned by his name, and particularly from the circumſtances of his preaching a ſermon in one of the churches in the iſland, there is reaſon to believe him to have been often actuated by a religious diſpoſition. Againſt him there were many reports; it was ſaid, it was his aim to render St. Domingo independent of France, and to fix the ſovereignty of the iſland on himſelf and his family.

We will return to the means adopted by Buonaparté. A fleet of 26 ships of war was collected in the harbours of Brest, L'Orient, and Rochefort, in the latter months of 1801, and put to sea on the 14th of December. This fleet, and the transports that attended it, carried an army of 25,000 men. A Spanish squadron accompanied this fleet, conveying troops, and a new governor to the Havannah. A fleet was fitted out in the Texel, for St. Domingo, which, also, sailed on the 16th of December; and as single ships continued to sail till the latter end of March, the whole force, probably, amounted to nearly 40,000 men.

The grand fleet, under Admiral Villaret, reached Cape Francois, all well, in forty-six days, after leaving Brest harbour. On the 2d of February, General Rochambeau's division landed in the Bay of Mancenille. On approaching the harbour of the Cape, a mulatto, who exercised the office of captain of the port, came on board the French admiral's ship, the Ocean, not to pilot her in, but to inform the admiral that he was ordered, by the black general, Christophe, to acquaint him that the whites would all be massacred, and the town set on fire, if the French refused to wait the return of a messenger from Toussaint.

The Captain-general, Leclerc, replied; "that he wished to write to that general, and inform him of the friendly intentions of his Government. He dispatched an ensign with the letter, and kept the mulatto captain as an hostage; the French fleet then stood out to sea. On the 4th of February, the French messenger returned with the reply of the negro general; he refused to receive the army, and threatened

to reduce the city of Cape Francois, to aſhes. In the meantime a deputation, from the unfortunate inhabitants, proceeded on board the Admiral's ſhip: they intreated him to deſiſt, as the city would, otherwiſe, be inevitably deſtroyed; they were, however, diſmiſſed without any ſatisfactory anſwer, as the general could not act in oppoſition to the orders he had brought from his government. He now only waited to receive intelligence of General Rochambeau's making good his landing at Fort Dauphine; this he received on the morning of the 5th. On the following morning, all neceſſary preparations being made, the French admiral availed himſelf of the firſt breeze, to ſtand into the harbour, followed by all the fleet. The city had been ſet on fire; the ſhips, however, anchored at the Mole in ſafety; the crews were embarked without delay, and arrived juſt in time to ſave the lower parts of the city. The Blacks made but a feeble reſiſtance; they retreated in good order, and with little loſs. On the 16th, General Leclerc, iſſued the following

PROCLAMATION.

Dated, Head Quarters at the Cape.

I am come here, in the name of the French Government, bearing to you peace and happineſs. I feared to be encountered by obſtacles ariſing from the ambitious views of the chiefs of the colony, and I am not deceived. They, who announced their devotion to France, in their proclamations, thought of nothing leſs than acting as Frenchmen. If they ſometimes ſpoke of France, it was becauſe their plans were not ſufficiently matured to diſavow it. To-day their perfidious intentions were unmaſked. To General Touſſaint, I ſent his children, and I received from him a letter, in which he aſſures me

there was nothing he ſo much deſired, as the proſperity of the colony; and, that he was ready to obey all the orders that I ſhould give him. I ordered him to come before me, and gave him my word, that I would employ him as my Lieutenant-general: he did not reply to this order, further than by phraſes, which were only deſigned to gain time. My orders from the French government are, that I ſhall promptly reſtore proſperity and abundance. If I ſuffer myſelf to be amuſed by crafty and perfidious artifices, the colony will be the theatre of a long and civil war.

I advance into the country, and am about to manifeſt to this rebel, the force of the French government. It can be no longer neceſſary to prove to all true Frenchmen, inhabiting St. Domingo, what a frantic monſter he is. I promiſe liberty to the people of this iſland. I have the means of making them enjoy it; and I will reſpect their perſons and property. I order as follows:

ART. I. The Generals, Touſſaint and Chriſtophe, are put out of the protection of the law: all citizens are ordered to purſue them, and to treat them as rebels to the French Republic.

II. From the day on which the French army ſhall occupy a poſition, all officers, whether civil or military, who ſhall obey other orders than thoſe of the generals of the army which I command, ſhall be treated as rebels.

III. The cultivators, who, ſeduced into error, and deceived by the perfidious inſinuations of the rebel generals, may have taken arms, ſhall be regarded as children who have ſtrayed, and ſhall be ſent to their plantations, provided they do not ſeek to excite inſurrection.

IV. The ſoldiers of the demi-brigades, who ſhall abandon the army of Touſſaint, ſhall be received into the French army.

V. The General Auguſtin Clairvaux, commandant in the department of Cibo, having acknowledged the French government, and the authority of the Captain-general, is continued in his rank, and in his command.

VI. The General, Chief of the Staff, ſhall print and publiſh this Proclamation.

(Signed) LECLERC.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Hoſtilities commence in St. Domingo.—Advantages obtained by the French.—Dreadful Maſſacres by both Parties.—Submiſſion of Touſſaint, Chriſtophe, Deſſalines, &c.—The Arreſt of the former, cauſes the Flight of the latter, and the renewal of Diſaffection.—General Leclerc's Apology for arreſting Touſſaint.—Dreadful Mortality among the French Troops.—Reduction of the Negroes at Guadaloupe.—Offenſive Decree of the French Legiſlative Body, for the renewal of Slavery in all the French Weſt India Iſlands.

IT was not till the 17th of February 1802, that the campaign actually commenced. On that day, General Desfourneux's diviſion, advanced to the Limbe; General Hardi's to the Grand Boucamp, and the Mormes; and that under General Rochambeau, againſt La Jannerie, and the wood of L'Ame. A ſmall corps, compoſed of the garriſons of the Cape, and Fort Dauphine, advanced againſt St. Luzanne, Le Tron, and Valliere; they had to contend with great diſadvantages in the ground, and the attacks of the negroes, concealed among the trees, bordering the vallies: theſe columns, however, took poſſeſſion of the poſitions they were ordered to occupy; viz. thoſe of Plaiſance, St. Michel, and Marmelade; this place, the black general, Chriſtophe, defended in perſon, with 2,400 men. As the Blacks publiſhed nothing of their proceedings, we are compelled to take the account of the French general, Leclerc, of which the following are an abſtract.

"General Debelles, attempted, in vain, to diſlodge the rebel general, Manrepas, from his poſition at Gonaives, owing to a very heavy fall of rain, which haraſſed the French troops, and prevented them from acting. Several other columns of the French army, however, advancing againſt him, a few days after, Maurepas thought proper to ſurrender himſelf, upon the condition held out in General Leclerc's proclation, of retaining his rank.

"General Deſſalines, proved the moſt dexterous, as well as the moſt bloody of the rebels. By ſome rapid manœuvres, he found means to ſet fire to the Leogane, in ſpite of General Boudett's efforts to prevent him. His cruelties, dictated by the orders of Touſſaint, had ſpread terror and deteſtation of their government through the whole iſland. 'Never, at Conſtantinople,' adds the French General, 'were heads cut off, or cruelties inflicted with leſs remorſe, than by Touſſaint, and his adherents.'

"General Laplume, commanding the South quarter of the iſland, voluntarily ſubmitted to the French government. By this means, the South was put into their poſſeſſion, and General Deſſalines was forced to retire into the great woods.

"Chriſtophe, after having ſet fire to Gonaives, was driven from poſt to poſt, and at length, forced to take refuge in the mountains.

"A ſtrong poſition, called Ravine-a-Coulenore, had been occupied by Touſſaint, with a choſen body of troops, compoſed of 500 grenadiers, 1,200 picked men, and 400 dragoons. Every means had been employed to render the poſition impregnable. General Rochambeau, however, attacked the entrenchments of the enemy with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, and,

after a desperate conflict, in which Toussaint's troops fought man to man, Toussaint was forced to evacuate his position, and to retreat in confusion to the Petite Riviere, leaving 800 men dead on the field of battle.

"After this defeat, the inhabitants of the country looked upon Toussaint as ruined; the cultivators returned to their habitations: his soldiers deserted their colours, and every one looked upon the French as masters of the colony.

"General Leclerc had set out in pursuit of Toussaint. He concludes his Letters as follows:—'Thus, has the army of St. Domingo, in a campaign of five days, dispersed the principal bodies of the enemy, and made itself master of their baggage, and a part of their artillery; Desertion has reached the camp of the enemy; Clervaux, Laplume, Maurepas, and several other black chiefs, or men of colour, have submitted. The plantations of the South are preserved entire. All the Spanish part has completely submitted.'"

[Another Letter from the Commander in Chief, to the Minister of Marine, dated Head Quarters, the 1st March, is as follows:]

"I communicated to you, Citizen Minister, in my dispatch of the day before yesterday, the success which we had obtained. We are now in pursuit of Toussaint, who has retired into the Mirebelais. General Rochambeau, who has passed the Ester, General Boudet, who has set out from Port-au-Prince, and the columns of the Spanish army, which are marching in that direction, induce me to hope that he cannot long escape us. Of the 500 horse-guards

which he had, 300 have already deserted him. Dessalines, the most ferocious of them all, has massacred some whites. Fortunately, we have some time yet before us, ere the great rains and heats commence. All the coasts and the ports of the island are in our possession. Nothing can equal the fatigues of our troops, nothing can equal their indignation against this ferocious banditti."

In this warfare the infuriated negroes spared neither age nor sex, of those who fell into their hands. All the plantations, for many miles round the Cape, exhibited a continued scene of devastation.

In fact, General Leclerc's details of the campaign, even in its commencement, gave a dreadful picture of the nature of the contest, which, horrible to relate! seemed to be conducted upon an indiscriminate massacre on both sides. General Leclerc gives an account of the capture of the important post of Crêteà Pierrot, which was defended with the utmost obstinacy by the rebel army. It appears, that the French force was not strong enough at once to attack this position and protect its former conquests; so that, while they marched into the interior, Toussaint and Christophe fell upon the country in their rear, burned all the towns of the Northern plain, and braved General Boyer in his intrenchments, within a few miles of the Cape. That general, however, maintained his post, and Toussaint retired to Gonaives, whither General Rochambeau was sent in pursuit of him. The reinforcements from Havre and Flushing had arrived after these actions; and Admiral Villaret, who announced this circumstance in the island, vainly supposed that it would be sufficient to conquer it. The rebels, most certainly

were unable to keep the field; but the French, weakened by the climate, as well as by the ſword, were unable to follow up their advantages, or retain what they had conquered. In another diſpatch from General Leclerc, dated Head Quarters at the Cape, May 8, he ſays, "The rebels were beaten and diſperſed in every direction, terror filled their camps: deſtitute of ſtores, and almoſt without powder, they were reduced to eat bananas. The arrival of the ſquadron from Flufhing and Havre, gave the finiſhing blow. Chriſtophe ſent to inform me, that he had always been a friend to the whites, whoſe ſocial qualities and information he had eſteemed more highly than any other men of colour; that all the Europeans who had been in St. Domingo, could bear teſtimony to his principles and his conduct; but, that imperious circumſtances, which govern, and frequently decide, the conduct of a public character, had not left him power to act as he could have wiſhed; in a word, that he was anxious to know whether there ſtill remained any hopes of ſafety for him. I returned, in anſwer, that, with the French people, the door of repentance was always left open; that the conſtant habit of the Firſt Conſul was, to weigh the actions of men, and that a ſingle miſdeed, whatever were its conſequences, never effaced the remembrance of ſervices formerly rendered; that, in fact, the information received by me, previous to my departure, was perſonally favourable to him; and, in ſhort, that if he was willing to place himſelf at my diſcretion, he would have reaſon to be ſatisfied.—He ſtill heſitated. Several columns marched in purſuit of him, and ſome ſlight encounters took place. At length, Chriſtophe appriſed me, that I had only

to ſend him my orders. Thoſe I ſent, were, that he ſhould repair, alone, to the Cape, diſmiſs all the working negroes, whom he had ſtill with him, and collect all the troops under his command. Every thing was punctually executed; the ſubmiſſion of Chriſtophe completed the conſternation of Touſſaint. He employed every means to acquaint me with the afflicting ſituation in which he was placed, and with what pain he ſaw hoſtilities continued without an object, and without an end. He added, that very unfortunate circumſtances had already occaſioned many calamities; but, that, however, great the force of the French army, he ſhould ſtill remain ſufficiently ſtrong and powerful to burn, ravage, and ſell dearly a life, which had once been uſeful to the mother country. I cauſed Touſſaint to be informed, that he had only to repair to the Cape, and that the hour of pardon might ſtill return. Touſſaint did not fail to profit by the permiſſion I had given: he came to ſee me, entreated to be reſtored to favour, and took an oath of fidelity to France. I accepted his ſubmiſſion, and ordered him to repair to a plantation near Gonaives, and never to leave it without my permiſſion. I have placed Deſſalines at a plantation near St. Marc.

General Leclerc, having thus got Touſſaint and Deſſalines in his power, talked of attending only to the internal adminiſtration of the affairs of the colony; but for this no opportunity yet offered. It ſhould have been obſerved, that, after Touſſaint ſubmitted, Chriſtophe, and all the black chiefs were diſpirited, their troops broken and diſperſed; and, finally, to extinguiſh, as it were, the laſt ray of hope; on the 12th of May, Touſſaint, with his whole fa-

mily were arrefted, put on board a frigate, and fhipped off for France! A proceeding fo unexpected, and apparently fo rigid, required no flight apology to his countrymen and to Europe; and, accordingly, we find it in the following Difpatch.

The GENERAL *in* CHIEF, *&c. to the* MINISTER *of* MARINE.

"CITIZEN MINISTER,

"I informed you, by one of my laft, of the pardon I had granted to General Touffaint. That ambitious man, from the moment I pardoned him, has never ceafed to confpire fecretly. If he furrendered, it was becaufe Generals Chriftophe and Deffalines had fignified to him, that they faw they had been deceived, and were refolved to make war no longer; but, feeing himfelf abandoned by them, he endeavoured to organize, among the cultivators, an infurrection, to make them rife *en maffe*: the reports fent to me by all the generals, even from General Deffalines, upon the conduct he has adopted fince his fubmiffion, do not leave me any doubt upon the fubject. I have intercepted the letters he wrote to a perfon, named Fontane, who was his agent at the Cape. Thefe letters prove, inconteftably, that he was confpiring, and that he wifhed to refume his former influence in the colony. He waited for the effect of difeafes upon the army. Under thefe circumftances, I did not think proper to leave him time to confummate his criminal projects; I ordered him to be arrefted: the affair was not eafy; yet, it fucceeded by the good difpofitions of General Brunet, and the zeal and devotion of Colonel Vincent, my aid-de-camp. He is to France, with all his family, this man, fo deeply perfidious, who, with fo much hypocrify, has done us fo much mifchief. Government will fee what it ought to do. The departure of Touffaint has caufed a general joy at the Cape, &c.

(Signed) "LECLERC."

This joy at the Cape, if it ever exiſted, was ſoon turned into a very different ſenſation. The arreſt of Touſſaint produced ſuch an unfavourable impreſſion, that the French were never able to eradicate it. Chriſtophe and Deſſalines, fearing the ſame treatment, eſcaped the poſſibility of it by flight. The negroes, in general, complained they had been betrayed and deceived: the whole iſland revolted. The climate, it has been obſerved, "came to the aſſiſtance of theſe avengers of tyranny and falſehood." Leclerc, himſelf, fell a victim to it: in fact, the mortality among the French troops, during their ſhort campaign in the Weſt Indies, was beyond all example, in Egypt or any other quarter. Beſides the Commander in Chief, ſix or ſeven generals of diviſion were among the dead; and, in the month of September, only 27,500, including a corps of 4,000 blacks, could be accounted for, and one-fifth of thoſe were in the hoſpitals! Even the Moniteur admitted, that a fifth of the troops embarked, had abſolutely periſhed, without obtaining the object for which they were ſent out: at the ſame time, the determination of the Conſular Government, to reſtore ſlavery in that quarter of the globe, where its ſubjects had been, at firſt, permitted to taſte the ſweets of liberty, aſtoniſhed the impartial, and diſguſted a much greater number, who had been the warmeſt admirers of the idea of emancipation.

Guadaloupe was alſo threatened with a ſerious inſurrection, but the inſurgents were reduced by the forces under the French General, Richepanſe, with very little loſs or oppoſition. One circumſtance only excited the ſtrongeſt emotions of any produced by this memorable campaign. We have alluded to

it before: it was the law paſſed by the French Legiſlative Body on the 17th of May, before it was known that Touſſaint had been accuſed, or was guilty of treachery. By this act *ſlavery* was re-eſtabliſhed in all the French colonies, on the ſame footing as it was previous to 1789; and the ſlave trade, and the importation of negroes, were ordered to be renewed, with all the encouragement and advantages which this deteſtable traffic enjoyed under the old French Government! That this conduct on the part of the French was agreeable to England cannot be doubted; but, though an underſtanding between the two governments, relative to the ſlaves, has been ſuſpected, there is no document whatever produced, to fix the public opinion upon a ſubject ſo apparently myſterious.

CHAPTER XXX.

Various Treaties.—Inſtitution of the Legion of Honour.—Reſignation of the King of Sardinia.—Piedmont, Parma, &c. added to France.—Erection of the Ligurian Republic.—Unſucceſsful Attempts of the Britiſh Government to enter into a commercial Treaty with France.—Britiſh Merchandiſe partly excluded.—Engliſh Newſpapers ſuppreſſed.—The Buſineſs of the German Indemnities concerted between France and Ruſſia.—The ineffectual Oppoſition of the Emperor of Germany.—The great Alteration produced in the Empire, and vaſt Acquiſition to the Power and Influence of the French.

THE preſent year, it was obſerved, was the year of treaties: while theſe conſolidated the power of the French Government abroad, the creation of a legion of honour, and Buonaparté's erection of himſelf into the Preſident of the Italian Republic, added to his ſecurity at home; though, why this ſhould be called a republic, the head of which was as abſolute as any monarch whatever, was, indeed, the cauſe of ſome ſurpriſe. During this year, Charles Emanuel, King of Sardinia, weary of being a king, with only the name of a kingdom, voluntarily abdicated his throne, in favour of his brother Victor Emanuel, the Duke of Aouſt, then baniſhed, as it were, to the little iſland of Sardinia: Piedmont, and the Duchy of Parma, were added as integral departments of France. The once magnificent city of Genoa, and all its territory, under the name of the Ligurian Republic, likewiſe became French pro-

vinces, in every thing but the name, though the government was veſted in a Doge, whoſe functions were to endure ſix years, and a Senate of thirty members, one-third of them to be changed every three years. Even in this little eſtabliſhment a naval force was not overlooked: Genoa was bound to ſupport two ſhips of 74 guns, two frigates, and four corvettes. But, though Ruſſia and Turkey had been fortunate enough to obtain treaties with the Head of the French government, with England he was too wary to be ſurpriſed into any meaſure of this nature: in vain did the miniſter and the merchants flatter themſelves with the idea of a commercial treaty with France.

The Firſt Conſul ſaw too far to bind himſelf to conditions, in which all the advantage would have been on the ſide of England. He had an equal right, with Mr. Pitt, to ſtudy the proſperity of his own country; and there can be no doubt, as he ſaw the vaſt acceſſion of territory and influence likely to accrue to France, while England might juſtly have been ſuppoſed to have paſſed her zenith; that, on this ground, there could be nothing like an equality between the contracting parties. In fact, the ſuſpicious and unaccommodating temper of the French Government ſoon ſhewed itſelf; for, with reſpect to our preſſing them on this ſubject, and our anxiety for a commercial connexion, the cry, on their part, was, relative to England, "The Treaty of Amiens! and nothing but the Treaty of Amiens!" About this time, alſo, a decree, prohibiting the importation of Britiſh manufactures on the left bank of the Rhine, ſoon put the matter beyond all doubt. Engliſh partiality, however, put an hoſtile conſtruction upon

this, and several other measures which the First Consul adopted, merely to employ and excite the industry of his own subjects; and the English newspapers, on this account, became so coarse, so personal and scandalous in their abuse, that, on the 20th of August, 1802, the circulation of English newspapers were prohibited in France. In the meanwhile, Buonaparté, after obtaining an additional ten years to his consulship, proceeded to get himself constituted First Consul of France for life. The next step to this, was the Senates enabling him to appoint his successor. It can scarcely be doubted, that he then entertained the design of becoming an Emperor, and that these steps were adopted as measures preparatory to that important end. When made Consul for Life (with what propriety his subsequent actions will best declare) he obscurely hinted at something like a divine right to that station; and observed, that "He was called by HIM, from whom all things emanate, to restore upon earth, justice, order, and equality!"

The daily extension of Buonaparté's power gave very serious uneasiness to the Emperor of Germany, as well as to the English; so much so, that the Imperial Cabinet, though bound by the Treaty of Luneville to admit of the German indemnities, and the secularization of several of the ecclesiastical sovereignties, was, nevertheless, extremely averse to the prosecution of this ungrateful business. The court of Vienna even remonstrated against the recent proceeding of the First Consul, in annexing the duchies of Parma and Placenza to the French Republic. It appeared, that by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the House of Austria claimed

the ſucceſſion to theſe ſovereignties, in caſe of the failure of iſſue in the preſent reigning branch. This, however, was no time to revive old claims, and the reluctance of the Emperor to enter upon the German indemnities, probably, urged Buonaparté to haſten them. The French Treaty with Ruſſia, it ſoon appeared, referred to the buſineſs that was to be opened at Ratiſbon. The Emperor of Ruſſia was called in, in ſome meaſure, as one of its guarantees. It was, in ſome degree, an unhappy precedent, becauſe it was upon the ground of the Emperor of Ruſſia's guarantee that he, afterwards, interfered, together with the King of Sweden, in order, as they urged, to preſerve the Germanic Conſtitution. In a matter where ſo many jarring intereſts were implicated, where ſtates and principalities were to be again portioned out; where the leſſer powers were to be ſacrificed as remunerations to the greater, it was not ſtrange that the proceedings ſhould be rather tardy. Nothing was effectually done till the 17th of July, when the Emperor of Germany tranſmitted a reſcript to the Diet of Ratiſbon, ſtating, that he had not ceaſed to occupy his attention with the means of terminating the important buſineſs of the peace; but that he found the principal parties had applied, in the meantime, to Ruſſia and France, and ſolicited the mediation of theſe powers in order to obtain the indemnities they waited for: that Ruſſia, had, conſequently, propoſed to open negotiations at Paris, in February 1802; and that, ſoon after, a Convention was concluded, *without his participation*, between France and Ruſſia; and it was deſired his Imperial Majeſty would direct the definitive arrange-

ment of it, according to the conſtitution. It was thus that, by the ſuperior policy and influence of Buonaparté, the ancient and ſtupendous fabric of the Germanic Empire was looſened, and, as it were, taken down by piecemeal. However, the Emperor ſeeing all his authority about to be taken from him, ſubmitted, for the time, with the beſt grace he could; he, nevertheleſs, by his perſevering objections, obtained terms rather more advantageous, than might have been expected, for his royal relative, the Grand Duke of Tuſcany. The newly modified ſcheme of indemnities, was called A Supplement to the Plan: according to this, the Elector of Mentz obtained the cities of Ratiſbon and Wetzlar; the Princes of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Heſſe Caſſel, were made Electors; and the King of Great Britain accepted the ceſſion of the Biſhopric of Oſnaburgh, as a compenſation for Hildeſheim, Corvey, and Hoexter, provided Oſnaburgh was given him in perpetuity, as, formerly, he had only the right of alternate nomination to that biſhopric. He now abandoned, on behalf of the cities of Hamburgh and Bremen, the rights and property he exerciſed in and over them. But, to raiſe the intereſt of France in the German Empire, upon the ruins of the Houſe of Auſtria, the Firſt Conſul and his Majeſty the Emperor of Ruſſia agreed, that it was at once poſſible and ſuitable to preſerve in the empire an eccleſiaſtical elector. They propoſed, in conſequence, that the Arch-chancellor ſhould be transferred to Ratiſbon, with the Abbey of St. Emeran, Ober Munſter, and Neider Munſter; preſerving his antient poſſeſſion of the great bailiwick of Aſchaffenburg, on the right of

the Main. This new officer, afterwards proved to be a perſon of great conſequence in promoting the intereſt of the French empire.

In the meanwhile, a diſpute between the Elector of Bavaria, and his neighbour, the Biſhop of Paſſau, had nearly proceeded to blows. The Emperor of Germany ſupported the latter, and took poſſeſſion of the biſhopric, to keep it out of the hands of the Elector.

On the 22d of Auguſt, the Emperor could no longer refrain from cauſing his commiſſary, Baron Hugel, to expreſs his diſpleaſure to the Diet. He flattered the newly conquered Germans, by ſtyling them a *free, independent* nation; and mentioned the Emperor's ſurprize, that they ſhould permit two foreign powers to preſcribe to it in its internal concerns. On the 24th, the ſame complaints were renewed in an Imperial reſcript; which was anſwered on the 28th by the French miniſter, Laforet, who ſimply enforced the declaration of the two mediating powers. The Emperor again expreſſed his diſſatisfaction as to indemnities granted to the Grand Duke of Tuſcany; but, on the 8th of September, the influence of France roſe predominant in the Diet: the plan of indemnities, after much debate, was accepted, and a *concluſum* voted accordingly. The court of Vienna, ſtill thinking its intereſts neglected, had inſtructed Baron Hugel, the Imperial Plenipotentiary, to refuſe to ratify the Concluſum. At length, in the thirtieth ſitting of the Deputation, on the 22d of November, a final *concluſum* was voted, and which was, ultimately, though with great reluctance, acceded to by the Emperor, with very few alterations;

and thus, as it was obſerved, a total, and a violent alteration was made in the map of Germany; the conſtitution of which ſuffered a much greater infraction than that effected by the Treaty of Weſtphalia, and the Thirty Years War, when the arrogance of the Houſe of Auſtria had been humbled by the heroic Guſtavus Adolphus, and Prince Maurice, of Saxony. Thus, by virtue of treaties, and by force of arms, France, under the Firſt Conſul, had acquired an extent of territory of four thouſand five hundred ſquare miles, with an additional population of four millions, three hundred and eighty-one thouſand, one hundred and ſixty-eight inhabitants; comprehending Savoy, Nice, Avignon, the Auſtrian Netherlands, Geneva, and all the German poſſeſſions on the left bank of the Rhine; together with Parma, Placentia, Piedmont, and the iſland of Elba, compriſing a population of nearly one million more. Beſides this, France exerciſed an unlimited controul over the whole of Italy, the United Provinces, and the Republic of Genoa; while Spain, Portugal, and Pruſſia, were looked upon much in the ſame light as allies.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Actual State of Switzerland, previous to its Invasion by the French.—Whimsical Mode of choosing Counsellors, &c.—Severe Remarks by Mr. Coxe, on the old Swiss Government selling their Subjects to France.—Letter from the First Consul, to Citizen Reding.—The Patriots, or Partizans of the old Aristocracy take Arms.—The Cantons of Baden and Argovia, rise in a Mass.—Various Operations.—Buonaparte's Letter to the Swiss Cantons.—The Answer to it by the Helvetic Diet.—The Swiss Diet dissolves itself.—Aloys Reding, and his Adherents, made Prisoners.—Final Result of the last Attempts of the Oligarchy to regain their last Influence.—Arrival of the Swiss Deputies at Paris.—Letter delivered to them from the First Consul.—The Act of Mediation.—Its Necessity and Object.—Its Operation opposed by the Aristocratic Cantons only.—Feeble Attempts at Insurrection.—Final result of the Introduction of the new Constitution.

THE conquest, or rather the annexation of Switzerland to the French Republic, was an event, which this year, and, occasionally, ever since, has called forth the most severe animadversion from the pen of every advocate for the war. According to these political frogs, or croakers, Switzerland was an earthly paradise till the French stepped in, and like Satan in Eden, converted this garden into a desart, and its happy inhabitants into mourners and slaves. The Swiss government, also, according to these writers, was as pure and as perfect as the people were innocent: and as for Swiss liberty, it could scarcely be exceeded any where but in England! Such, however, have been the representations of hired writers, and the makers up of newspapers. But to

come at the real facts, as to the happineſs of the Swiſs people, and the purity of their government; we need not refer to any party-writer, who has either vindicated or accuſed them, ſince the French revolution took place. Thoſe who have written previous to that event, cannot be ſuſpected of partiality to the Swiſs, nor of enmity to the French. Among theſe, *Coxe's Sketches of the Natural, Civil, and Political State of Switzerland*, ſtands foremoſt, from the known reſpectability of the work and the author. As to the Swiſs government, Mr. Coxe, though he praiſes the excellent ſtate of the priſons in that country, &c. obſerves, "One cannot but be aſtoniſhed, as well as concerned, to find, that in a country where the true principles of civil government are ſo well underſtood, and ſo generally adopted, that the trial by *torture* is not yet aboliſhed; for in ſome particular caſes, the *ſuſpected* criminal is ſtill put to the rack." "I cannot," ſays he, "however, but add, in juſtice to the Swiſs, that zealous advocates have not been wanting among them for the total abolition of torture: but arguments of reaſon, and ſentiments of humanity, have been found, even in this civilized and enlightened country, to avail little againſt inveterate cuſtom, and long confirmed prejudices."

As to the formation of the Swiſs government, in ſome cantons, it was merely the effect of *chance!* that is to ſay, in Baſil, the acting men draw tickets out of a bag, to enable them to fill up vacant poſts in the government. In fact, Mr. Coxe obſerves, "It has not unfrequently happened, that a candidate, whoſe knowledge and abilities rendered him capable of being ſerviceable to the ſtate, has never had the good luck to obtain the ſucceſsful ticket; while fortune has beſtowed it upon another, by no

means qualified to fulfil the duties of the employment." But, not only the Counſellors of State, but even the Profeſſors in the Univerſity, are elected in the ſame manner. Hence, nothing is more common than to ſolicit for the profeſſorſhip of a ſcience, which the party has never made the peculiar object of his ſtudies: however, afterwards, the unqualified profeſſors may change places with each other, and thus ſet all right again.

It is alſo an obſervation of this intelligent writer, "That a very narrow ſpirit of policy reigns throughout moſt of the ſtates in Switzerland, as they ſeldom or never make a new citizen. At Zurich, he was informed, that it was an hundred and fifty years ſince they had admitted one." In fact, the French writers have obſerved, that the government in Switzerland, had long been ſeized by, and confined to certain families, to the excluſion of the other citizens. As to Swiſs liberty, of which the political croakers complain, theſe people have been deprived, by their connection with the French, it is a mere chimera; the Swiſs were more ſtrictly the vaſſals of France before the Revolution than ſince. All the Catholic cantons in particular, uſed to receive conſiderable ſubſidies from France, as enliſting money for their people. Mr. Coxe obſerved, in 1778, "That every burgher of the age of fourteen, in the two cantons of Uri and Underwalden, receives about ſix livres, five ſhillings of our money annually; the landamman, and magiſtrates, more in proportion. The canton of Schweitz has had, for ſome time, a quarrel with France, and accordingly, withdrew its troops from that ſervice; but, this year, the matter has been accommodated, and the (French) king pays every male

child of a burgher, four livres annually, reckoning from the time of his birth." This wretched inſtance of venal ſlavery, forced the writer to obſerve, that he could not help thinking that the acceptance of theſe ſubſidies were derogatory to that ſpirit of independence which the Swiſs cantons profeſſed, and "that it would be far more honourable to enter into an alliance with France, upon terms of perfect equality than to receive paltry ſubſidies, &c." Now this is as nearly as poſſible what has actually taken place, as will, probably, appear from the meaſures purſued by the Firſt Conſul of France.

It may be neceſſary to premiſe, that from the local and relative ſituation of Switzerland, it was impoſſible for her to preſerve her neutrality in ſuch a conteſt as that had been between Auſtria and France. In fact, ſhe had forfeited it to the former, almoſt at the very commencement of the war, when ſhe ſuffered her territory to be violated by the Auſtrians, to the prejudice of the French, without even proteſting againſt the meaſure; when the Swiſs government of one of the cantons broke a commandant, only for firing a ſalute in honour of General Buonaparté, as he paſſed through the town as an individual, on his return from Italy; and from the countenance and ſupport afforded to the French Royaliſts, who had fixed themſelves in Switzerland, the better to carry on their intrigues againſt the new French government.

Under all theſe conſiderations, it could not be ſuppoſed that a general, ſo conſummate as Buonaparté, could ſuffer Switzerland to become allied to his enemy at that, or any future period. It was now thought a proper time for introducing the new Con-

ſtitution which had been prepared for the Swiſs. In Buonaparté's Expoſe it was noticed, that Switzerland had repeatedly applied to him for his protection, and even previous to his departure from Paris, this year, we find the following Letter was delivered from the Firſt Conſul, to Citizen Reding, chief magiſtrate of Switzerland.

"Paris, January 6.

"CITIZEN REDING.

"Two years ago, your countrymen conſulted the Firſt Conſul with regard to their affairs. He ſpoke to them as the Firſt Magiſtrate of the Gauls would have done in thoſe times, when Helvetia formed a part of Gaul. The counſels which he had given them, might have conducted them to proſperity, and ſaved them two years of troubles. You appear animated by a deſire for the welfare of your country; let your countrymen ſecond you, and Helvetia will at length be re-eſtabliſhed among the powers of Europe. Circumſtances of war, have led the French armies into your territories. The deſire of liberty has armed your people, and eſpecially thoſe of the country, againſt privileges. Events of an oppoſite nature have ſucceeded: in the courſe of a few years you have undergone great misfortunes. A great reſult awaits you; the equality and liberty of your fellow-citizens At this day, whether a Swiſs is born at the borders of the Leman or the Aar, he is equally free. That is the only diſtinct article in your preſent political ſituation. The baſis of the public law of Europe, at this moment, is, to maintain, in each country, the exiſting order. If all the powers have adopted this principle, it is, becauſe all have need of peace, and the return of diplomatic and commercial relations. The French people, therefore, ought, as far as in them lies, to maintain your country in its exiſting ſtates. True, indeed, you are without organization, without government, without a national will: wherefore, will not your countrymen make

one effort! Let them call forth the patriotic virtues of their fathers: let them facrifice the ſpirit of ſyſtem, of faction, to the love of the welfare and liberty of their country: you will then no longer fear to be governed by the reſidue of a temporary faction; you will have a government, becauſe it will be ſupported by public opinion, and founded on the will of the nation. All Europe will renew its relations with you. France will not ſtop to conſider her perſonal intereſts; ſhe will make all the ſacrifices which may tend to ſecure your Conſtitution, the liberty and equality of your fellow-citizens. She will continue to ſhew every mark of parental kindneſs for you, who, after a lapſe of ſo many ages, form the connection of two independent diviſions of the ſame people."

The Conſtitution deſigned for the Swiſs, did not by any means, pleaſe them; though its enemies allow that it was generally accepted in the greater cantons. But in the Valais, or Pays de Vaud, the ſymptoms of diſaffection were firſt publicly manifeſted, though the preſence of a French army ſoon quelled the malcontents. In the three cantons of Schweitz, Uri, and Underwalden, the oppoſition was moſt violent: they, with Appenzel, openly declared themſelves in a ſtate of inſurrection. A conſiderable part of the ſummer was paſſed in threats and recriminations between the French party in Switzerland, called the New Government, and the refractory cantons. The latter, called the Patriots, though in reality the partizans of the old ariſtocracy; they, notwithſtanding the inferiority of their force, appointed commanders, formed magazines, and prepared to take the field. General Andermatt, and the Commiſſary-general, Keller, were diſpatched againſt them: but, without waiting for the attack, on the 27th of Auguſt, the Inſurgents advanced, and

carried the poſt of Rany, occupied by a company of carabineers; the captain of which, and about 30 men were killed. On the 7th of September, a ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed upon, only to be broken by three days notice. In the meantime, the cantons of Glaris, the two diſtricts of Baden, and a part of the Griſons, openly joined the confederacy—that of Zug, manifeſted the ſame ſpirit; and the French General, Andermatt, was compelled to ſend ſeveral companies of troops of the line, to take poſſeſſion of Zurich; the inhabitants refuſed to admit them. The unexpected arrival of this force, produced great agitation among the inhabitants; they collected very tumultuouſly; and, as the effervescence ſeemed to be carried to a very high degree, the Municipality, not chooſing to take upon themſelves all the reſponſibility, thought proper to call to their aſſiſtance ſix perſons of the greateſt influence in the town. After due deliberation, it was reſolved to guard againſt all ſurpriſe by refuſing admiſſion to the troops. The Municipality of Zurich wrote to the Helvetic commandant, that the citizens would guard their own walls, and wiſhed to ſee no more foreign troops among them: that, notwithſtanding, he would be permitted to enter, on condition that his ſoldiers ſhould be lodged in barracks, guarded by the citizens. Immediately afterwards, Citizens Veiſs and Schintz, left Zurich to have an explanation with the central Government. That took place on the 7th of September. General Andermatt, informed of theſe movements, left Lucerne on the 12th, with all the troops and artillery in the place. He arrived at night, before Zurich; and, at half paſt two in the morning, cauſed the town to be ſummoned, by the

found of trumpet, to open its gates. The commandant of Zurich, replied, that he would send his requeſt to the Municipality, and would wait their orders; upon which General Andermatt began to bombard the town with ſhells: he fired 160, beſides ſome four and ſix-pound balls: but his ammunition was ſoon expended, and he had no more than 2,000 men. He offered, at nine o'clock, to ſuſpend hoſtilities, provided a part of the town was put into his hands, until he could receive ulterior orders from his Government. In effect, an armiſtice was agreed upon, till the 18th, at ſix o'clock in the evening; but the citizens, enraged at the attack made upon them, and encouraged by the bad ſucceſs of the morning attack, (there were none killed or wounded, and the fire occaſioned by the ſhells was ſoon extinguiſhed), refuſed all other arrangement. Their friends from the country were arriving, every hour, to the ſuccour of Zurich; particularly old General Steiner, who, at 80 years of age, entered the city, at the head of 300 men, well armed.

In the meanwhile, the cantons of Baden and Argovia, roſe in a maſs, and took Brugg, and Lenſbourg. Alovs Reding, who had taken part againſt the French, from the firſt invaſion of the country, was declared their chief; and though Zurich was obliged to capitulate to General Andermatt, Fribourg re-conſtituted itſelf, and Berne was obliged to capitulate, in turn, to the Swiſs party, on the 18th of September, after an obſtinate action under the walls. The Swiſs Inſurgents were commanded by Meſſrs. Watteville, D'Erlach, and Effinguer, and conſiſted of the peaſantry of Argovia, Soleure, and Oberland. The Swiſs troops, on the French ſide, fired from the

ramparts of Berne, upon theſe peaſants, who threw ſome ſhot into the place, which, however, only damaged the town-houſe. At length, after a ſevere combat, the French party were obliged to capitulate; a ſuſpenſion of arms was alſo agreed upon, which included General Andermatt, and the troops under him. M. de Watteville, the Swiſs commandant, was named Commander in Chief, and waited on the French Miniſter, Verninac, who, it is ſaid, gave him a moſt obliging reception.

About the ſame time, the city of Arau, ſurrendered to the forces under D'Erlach, as did Soleure, likewiſe, to a party of Argovians, without firing a gun; and Andermatt, who had been abruptly recalled from Zurich, before the capitulation of Berne, and left that city in poſſeſſion of his heavy artillery, being, it is ſaid, cloſely purſued by Aloys Reding, muſt have been taken or deſtroyed, had he not been included in that capitulation.

The Swiſs Inſurgents, on the other hand, were no ſooner eſtabliſhed at Berne, than they began to aſſume the reins of Government. They iſſued a proclamation, in which they gave each of the cantons leave to chooſe and regulate their local governments, and recommended a liberal and rational plan for regulating and enſuring Helvetic independence.

But while this new Swiſs Government were ſettling themſelves at Berne, it ſhould be obſerved, that the members of the old one, eſtabliſhed by the partiſans of France, were at Lauſanne, to which place they had been followed by the Spaniſh, and other miniſters, at peace with France. In the meanwhile, as neither of the parties were conquered, but both ſeemed to act as if they meant to gain time; a

Proclamation appeared, which operated like a thunder-clap upon the new Swiſs Government, as it put an end to all the hopes they had indulged of any new modifications in their favour.

BUONAPARTE, *Firſt Conſul of the* FRENCH REPUBLIC, *Preſident of the* ITALIAN REPUBLIC, *to the Eighteen Cantons of the* HELVETIC REPUBLIC.

"St. Cloud, September 30.

"Inhabitants of Helvetia, you have afforded, for two years, an afflicting ſpectacle. Oppoſite factions have, ſucceſſively, taken poſſeſſion of the ſovereign authority; they have ſignaliſed their temporary rule by a ſyſtem of partiality, which proved their unſkilfulneſs and weakneſs. In the courſe of the year 10, your Government deſired that the ſmall number of French troops in Helvetia, ſhould be withdrawn. The French Government willingly availed themſelves of that opportunity, to honour your independence; but, ſoon afterwards, your different parties began to be agitated by freſh fury: the blood of the Swiſs was ſhed by the hands of Swiſs. You have been diſputing for three years, without coming to any underſtanding; if you are left to yourſelves, you will be killing each other for three years longer, without coming to a better underſtanding. Beſides, your hiſtory proves that your inteſtine wars could never be terminated but by the efficacious intervention of France. It is true, that I had determined not to interfere at all in your affairs; I had conſtantly ſeen your different governments aſk advice of me, and not follow it, and ſometimes abuſe my name, according to their intereſts and their paſſions. But I neither can, nor ought, to remain inſenſible to the miſery of which you are the victims. I recall my determination, I will be the mediator of your differences; but my mediation ſhall be efficacious, ſuch as befits the great people in whoſe name I ſpeak. Five days after the notification of the preſent Proclamation, the Senate ſhall aſſemble at Berne. Every magiſtracy that ſhall have been formed at Berne, ſince the capitulation, ſhall

be diſſolved, and ſhall ceaſe meeting and exerciſing any authority. The Prefects ſhall repair to their poſts. All the authorities which may have been formed, ſhall ceaſe meeting. Armed aſſemblages ſhall diſperſe: the 1ſt and 2d Helvetic demi-brigades ſhall compoſe the garriſon of Berne: the troops, who have been on ſervice for upwards of ſix months, ſhall alone remain in corps of troops. Finally, all individuals diſbanded from the Belligerent armies, and who are now in arms, ſhall depoſit their arms at the municipality of the commune where they were born. The Senate ſhall ſend three deputies to Paris; each canton may alſo ſend deputies. All citizens, who, for the laſt three years, have been Landammans, or Senators, and have ſucceſſively occupied places in the Central Authority, may repair to Paris, to make known the means of reſtoring union and tranquillity, and conciliating all parties. On my part, I have a right to expect, that no city, no commune, no corps, will do any thing contrary to the diſpoſitions which I make known to you. Inhabitants of Helvetia, awake to hope! Your country is on the brink of a precipice; it ſhall be immediately drawn from it: all men of good intentions will ſecond this generous plan. But if, which I cannot believe, there be among you a great number of individuals who ſhould have ſo little virtue as not to ſacrifice their paſſions and their prejudices to the love of their country: people of Helvetia, you will have indeed degenerated from your forefathers! There is no ſenſible man who does not ſee, that the mediation which I take upon myſelf is a benefit to Helvetia, from that Providence, which, in the midſt of ſo many ſhocks and conculſions, has always watched over the exiſtence and independence of your nation; and that this mediation is the only means of ſaving both. For, indeed, it is time you ſhould ſee, that, if the patriotiſm and union of your anceſtors founded your Republic, the bad ſpirit of your factions, if it continue, will infallibly deſtroy it. Painful would it be to think, that, at a period when ſeveral new

Republics have arisen, destiny had marked out the termination and fall of one of the most ancient.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE.

"By the First Consul, H. B. MARET."

However, on Sunday morning, the 3d of October, hostilities were renewed between the Swiss and the French party, along the whole line; and in every point the Swiss were successful. The main attack was made on the Helvetic troops, covering Lausanne. The Helvetic Government was preparing to fly from Lausanne to Geneva, when, on the 4th, Citizen Rapp, the Chief Consul's aid-du-camp, arrived with the Proclamation. This gave the Helvetic Government courage to remain in Lausanne; and Citizen Rapp proceeded to lay his Proclamation before the Swiss Committee at Berne. They returned for answer, that they had referred it to the Swiss Diet, sitting at Schwitz, which had the charge of all important state matters. On the 6th the commander of the Swiss troops, and another officer, found it necessary to come to Lausanne with a flag of truce, to propose an armistice between the Swiss and Helvetic troops, till the Diet at Schwitz should come to some resolution respecting Buonaparté's Proclamation.

On the 8th, the Diet returned the following answer:

THE HELVETIC DIET

To CITIZEN BUONAPARTE, *First Consul of the* FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"Citizen First Consul, the Proclamation which you did us the honour to send to us on the 30th of September, by Citizen Rapp, your Adjutant-general, arrived at Schwitz on the 6th of October. We could have wished, that the Letter we took the liberty of sending you, General First Consul, on the 30th of September, could have reached

you ſooner; it contains a faithful expoſition of the preſent ſtate of Switzerland. Permit us to ſend you, incloſed, a duplicate of it, and to entreat you to receive it favourably. It will prove to you, that the movements which have taken place in Switzerland are not the reſult of a ſpirit of party; and that the Swiſs Nation has no other object in view, than to make uſe of the right which ſhe claims, of giving herſelf a central and cantonal Conſtitution, founded on her poſition, and her wants; a ſacred and precious right, which you deigned yourſelf to enſure her by the Treaty of Luneville. Switzerland would, long ſince, have been tranquil, if the members of the Helvetic Government, thoſe obſcure metaphyſicians, had conſulted the real ſtate of affairs, inſtead of obſtinately attaching themſelves to theoretic attempts, as erroneous as they are expenſive. The violence with which they have tried to impoſe their ſyſtem upon the democratic cantons, the civil war they have organized, to attain their end, directed at firſt againſt thoſe cantons, then againſt all Switzerland; the unexampled ſeverity with which they have done it, have produced a diſcontent equally general and juſt, and a determined and avowed will to ſhake off this inſupportable yoke. It is not then, General Firſt Conſul, an affair of party, it is the ſacred cauſe of humanity; it is the general wiſh of a whole nation, which has given us our power and our inſtructions; of a nation which you yourſelf wiſhed to free, and which has been ill treated and irritated, contrary to your intentions. Yet of that nation, we render ourſelves guarantees, and will never abuſe the liberty it claims. The Swiſs have nothing more at heart than to obtain a ſtate of repoſe, in which, under the ſhield of a mild and juſt Government, each inhabitant may enjoy his property and his exiſtence. We are convinced, that we ſhall arrive at that eſſential object of all ſocial order, from the moment our will and our efforts ſhall be no longer fettered. General Firſt Conſul, all Europe admires in you the Supreme Head of an immenſe Power and Empire; which, without doubt, according to your own views, will be directed to the good

of humanity. Your magnanimity assures us, that you will not make use of it against a people, who only desire what you have made them hope, and who only wish what they believe themselves authorised to do by yourself. Penetrated with eternal gratitude, the Swiss Nation will do its endeavour to deserve the good-will of the French Government, and will fulfil all the duties which are imposed upon it, by the desire of cultivating good neighbourhood. It is with the most distinguished respect that we remain, General First Consul,

"The DEPUTIES of the Helvetic Diet."

"Schwitz, October 8."

This, it has been observed, was the expiring effort of Helvetic freedom: as, after this, all resistance to the arms of France were deemed unavailing; probably, the First Consul's terms were found to be easier than they were expected to have been. The remaining troops of the Swiss Insurgents were disbanded; and on the 17th of October the Senate resumed the possession of Berne. In vain had the Patriots, or, as they should have been termed, the old Aristocrats of Switzerland, appealed to the powers of Europe. The Court of Vienna dreaded Buonaparté so much that they would not hold any correspondence with them. England, though at peace with France, sent an agent, in the person of a Mr. Moore, to negotiate with the Insurgents, but he arrived too late. On the 28th of October, the Diet of the Insurgents, held at Schwitz, thought proper to dissolve itself; and, as prevention was better than cure, the French Government took care to have a force in and near Switzerland, sufficient to overawe any new movements. To finish the business, deputies from the cantons were ordered to proceed to Paris, to decide upon the points at issue.

Still, the neceſſity for keeping a watchful eye over the Swiſs, who, upon the whole, could not expect to be treated much better than a conquered country, appeared from this ſingle circumſtance, that the Ariſtocratic Diet held at Schwitz, previous to their diſſolving themſelves, entered into a ſolemn proteſt againſt any meaſures whatever which ſhould be adopted by the Swiſs Conſulta at Paris.

After this, the Gallo-Helvetic Government addreſſed a Proclamation to the people of Switzerland, telling them that they have deſerved their ſuffering. "The French troops have penetrated into all your cantons; deprived you of the arms which you turned againſt your Government, and have thus declared to Europe, that you are at once incapable of remaining at peace, and unworthy of keeping them yourſelves!" Proceeding in the ſame ſtrain, they aſk to whom are the cantons indebted for the return of the French troops? They anſwer, not to the Senate, but to the Diet of Schwitz. But the moſt important part of this Proclamation, is the aſſertion, that it is now, more than ever, the intereſt of Switzerland, "to follow the political ſyſtem of France." *Marcher dans le ſyſtême politique de la France.* The Proclamation concludes, with telling the people duly, that they will be required to defray the expenſes of the French troops "whom their own conduct has brought into the country."

Aloys Reding, and General Auf-der-Maur, together with the brother of the former, and ſeveral other of the Swiſs patriots, were brought priſoners to Zurich, and conveyed before General Serrurs. They were ſent to the caſtle of Chillon, on the banks of

the Lake of Geneva, till farther orders. The Senate of Berne, as might be expected, declared, that Buonaparté would give them a Conſtitution which ſhall enſure tranquillity, and that they will gratefully accept it.

Such were the reſults of the laſt attempts of the Oligarchy in Switzerland to regain their loſt influence; but, though they failed, it cannot yet be ſaid, that Switzerland is equally as dependent upon France, as Wales upon England. The torture is, no doubt, no longer in practice among them; nor may we hear any more of the uſual bloody contentions between the Catholic and Proteſtant cantons, on the ſcore of religion. France allows of no perſecution. Trade, but no monopoly, will be encouraged in Switzerland, becauſe the French Government has no need of the ill-gotten wealth of the monopolizer. France, able to protect herſelf; and, politically ſpeaking, almoſt omnipotent, will never be that drain upon the youth of Switzerland as when their blood was ſold by the antient Government, to almoſt every petty deſpot, whoſe perpetual jars kept this infamous market, as it were, continually open: at any rate, no power inimical to France can now injure Switzerland with impunity, as might have been the caſe without ſuch an ally or maſter. Switzerland, now having nothing to fear from the enmity of France, will partake of all her glory and good fortune without riſk, and without the reproach juſtly applied to the ancient Swiſs Government for its "mercenary ſpirit, uncontrouled by conſiderations of juſtice or humanity, to traffic with the blood of their ſubjects, and let them out, for paltry ſubſidies, to fight the battles of any king in any cauſe." Of courſe, the preſent ſitua-

tion of Switzerland is incomparably improved in conſequence of its recent connexions with the French Government.

The deciſive ſettlement of the new Conſtitution of Switzerland was reſerved till the Deputies from the Cantons ſhould have arrived at Paris. In conſequence of this determination, on the 10th of December, they were requeſted to aſſemble at the office of the Miniſter of Foreign Affairs: they met accordingly, and Barthelemy, one of the Senators of the Commiſſion, with Roux, and Reederer, its Secretaries, there communicated to them a Letter from the Firſt Conſul, dated St. Cloud, December 10, and addreſſed to the Deputies, from the Eighteen Cantons of Helvetia, the ſubſtance of which was as follows: "The preſent critical ſituation of Helvetia demands from all parties an entire ſacrifice of their factions and ſelfiſh paſſions. The Firſt Conſul will fulfil his engagements, and reſtore tranquillity to Switzerland. He expects the Deputies to aid his intentions. Switzerland is a country diſtinguiſhed from all others, by the peculiarity of its local circumſtances. It is formed for a Federative Republic by the very hand of nature. Circumſtances had there eſtabliſhed ſovereign ſtates, among others that were dependent; other circumſtances have introduced a general equality of right. There are in Switzerland both pure democracies and oligarchies, or governments engroſſed by particular families; both cannot continue to ſubſiſt together. The three principles, on which alone tranquillity can be reeſtabliſhed, are theſe: a general equality of rights among all the Eighteen Cantons: entire renunciation of all ariſtocratic family rights; a federative

conformation in refpect to each particular canton. After the cantons fhall have been conftituted the courfe of the central government will be eafy. The revenue, the military force, the political adminiftration, will be different in different cantons. Switzerland has not, hitherto, had a ftanding army, nor ambaffadors, in ordinary, to foreign powers. Commerce, and a government of fmall expenditure, are the two things of the chief importance to the country. The French and Italian Republics cannot agree to the inftitution of a government in Switzerland that might become, directly or indirectly, hoftile to their intereits. The Infurgents have acted under the influence of the enemies of France; they have infulted the French nation; they have declared themfelves againft an equality of rights. No party, and leaft of all, that of the Infurgents, is to triumph in Switzerland. It is the duty of the French Government to take care that there fhall not be formed, on that open frontier of the French Republic, a fyftem hoftile to it. A government muft be eftablifhed in Helvetia fuch as in its fpirit may be always friendly to France. The Firft Conful will take into due confideration whatever plans fhall be communicated to him from the Deputies, whether individually or collectively."

If we may judge by the time that was occupied before the new Conftitution was finally adjufted, it would feem that it did not pafs without fome conlideration, if not objection, on the part of the Deputies; for it was not till the 23d of the February following the arrival of the Swifs Deputies at Paris, that the Supplement of the Moniteur was nearly filled, with what was called, by the French Govern-

ment, *The Act of Mediation on the part of the First Conful of the French Republic between the parties which divide Switzerland.*

The introduction is in every refpect plaufible, and, in moft of the particulars fpecified, ftrictly true. The interference of France feems to be particularly imputed to the folicitation of the *Democratic cantons*; and, it is added, that the general wifh of the Helvetic people rendered it neceffary for Buonaparté to interpofe his mediation between the parties that divided that country. The prefent act, it was added, the refult of long conferences between well intentioned men, and friends to order, has appeared to us to contain the moft proper difpofitions to enfure to the Swifs both peace and profperity; and, as foon as thefe difpofitions fhall be carried into execution the French troops fhall quit Switzerland.

"We acknowledge Helvetia, conftituted as follows, to be an independent power. We guarantee the federal Conftitution, and that of each canton, againft the enemies of the tranquillity of Helvetia, be they who they may; and we promife to keep the relations of amity, which, for feveral ages, have united both nations."

Then follow the particular Conftitutions of the Eighteen Cantons, which are divided into three claffes; democratic, ariftocratic, and the new cantons.

The Eighteen Swifs Cantons are confederated, agreeably to the principles eftablifhed in their refpective conftitutions: they mutually guarantee their conftitutions, their territory, their liberty, and their independence, both againft foreign powers and the ufurpation of an individual canton or faction. The

quota of troops and money to be ſupplied by each canton here follows :

" The Diet to meet alternately, and from year to year, at Fribourg, Berne, Soleure, Baſle, Zurich, and Lucerne.

" Citizen Louis D'Affry is Landamman for Switzerland for the current year :

" He is to have the charge of all diplomatic negotiations ; he is to watch over all the laws and ordinances of the Diet, and of thoſe of the particular conſtitutions.

" The Diet is to be compoſed of a Deputy from each canton, who is to have full powers, with inſtructions, by which he is ſtrictly bound. The Deputies from the cantons have thirty-five voices. The Diet is to aſſemble every year, on the 1ſt of June : it is to continue its ſittings but one month : in that time it may conclude treaties of peace, of alliance, and of commerce, with foreign powers.

" Given at Paris."

(Signed) " BUONAPARTE, &c. &c."

It was remarkable, that it was the ariſtocratic cantons only that manifeſted any diſlike to this new Conſtitution. However, their attempts to excite an inſurrection among the Helvetic troops at Berne being feeble and unſupported, ended in their own diſcomfiture. Even ſome of our journaliſts, proſtituted to the war faction at that period, owned " that nothing but the preſence of the French troops could prevent the ariſtocratic cantons from breaking out into acts of direct hoſtility againſt the Conſtituted Authorities in Switzerland :" a conceſſion this, inimical to the object theſe writers had in view, of calumniating the

Firſt Conſul: becauſe, as they thus made it appear that the *democratic* Cantons were glad of his interference; it is but fair to conclude, that by introducing "an equality of rights," he moſt effectually delivered the beſt part of Switzerland from a ſet of oligarchs and petty tyrants.

The final reſult of the introduction of the new Conſtitution was, that the Helvetic troops were paſſed into the ſervice of France. On this occaſion the Landamman iſſued a Proclamation, informing them, that they were received into the armies of the Firſt Conſul, whoſe paternal care would make them forget all they had ſuffered. An addreſs of thanks to Buonaparté was alſo voted by the Diet, on the ſpecific ground, "That he had reſtored to them their ancient Conſtitution, the only one adapted to the wants, or conſiſtent with the wiſhes of the people;" and which, as it met with no oppoſition, but from the influence of the oligarchs in the ariſtocratic Cantons, in being admitted as a poſitive truth, muſt, at the ſame time, be acknowledged a moſt eſſential benefit to Switzerland in particular, and to Europe in general.

END OF VOL. V.

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